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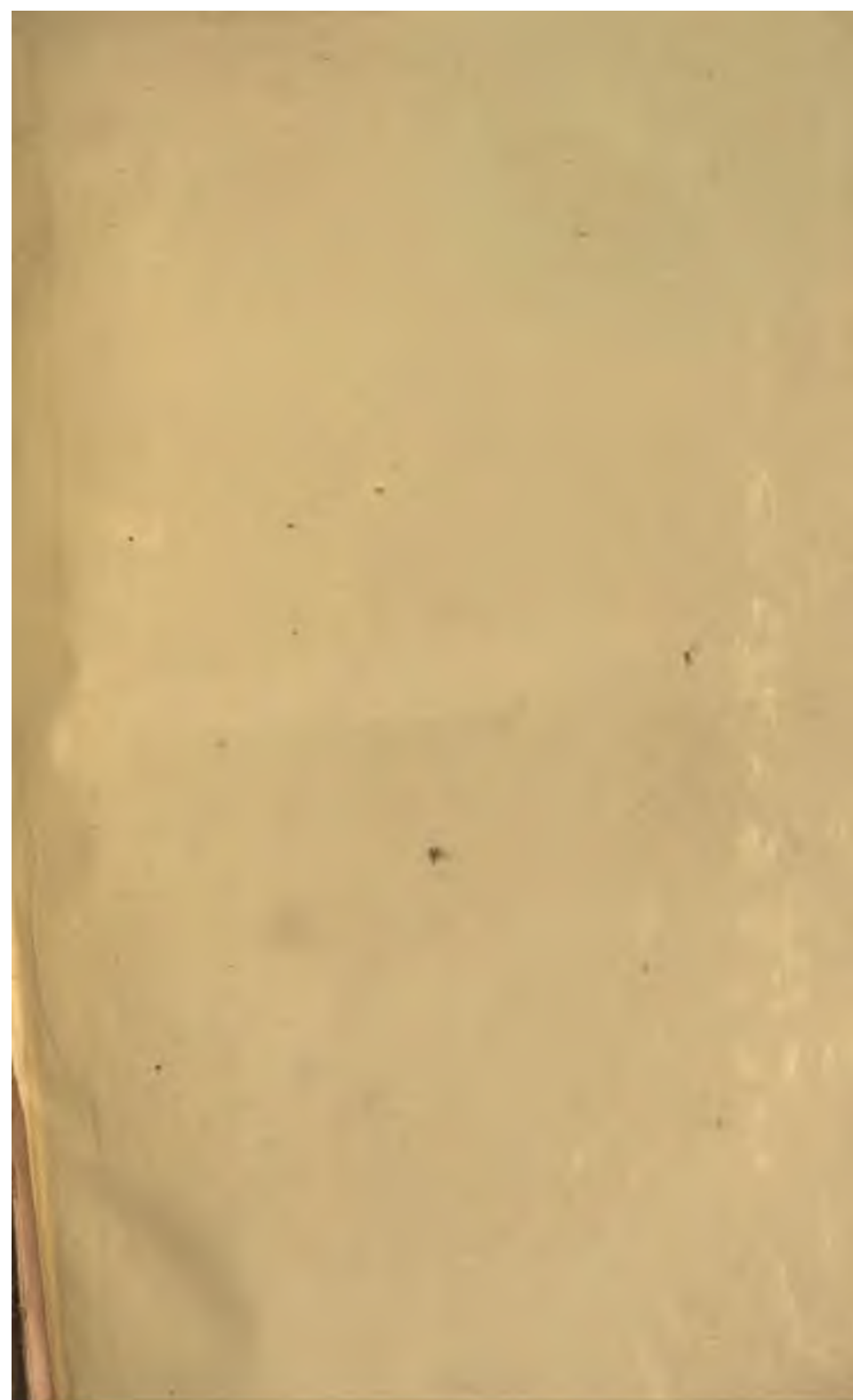
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A
JOURNAL
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,
AND LABOUR OF LOVE
IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY,
OF THAT
ANCIENT, EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,
GEORGE FOX;
Who Departed this Life in great Peace with the Lord, the 13th
of the 11th Month, 1690.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

—◆◆—
VOL. II.

DAN. xii. 3. And they that turn many to Righteousness, shall shine as the Stars for ever and ever.

VERSE 4. Many shall run to and fro; and Knowledge shall be increased.

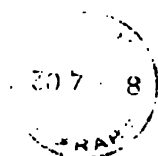
2 TIM. ii. 12. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; (i. e. with Christ.)

—◆◆—
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A JOURNAL,
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, AND CHRISTIAN
EXPERIENCES, &c.
OF
GEORGE FOX.

NOW there being very many friends in prison in the nation, Richard Hubberthorn and I drew up a paper concerning them, and got it delivered to the king, that he might understand how we were dealt with by his officers; it was directed thus:

For the King.

‘ Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there have suffered for good conscience-sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons; and there lie yet in prison in the name of the Commonwealth, seventy-three persons, that we know of. And there have died in prison in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, thirty-two persons. There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby to thee,

three thousand sixty and eight persons. Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, (though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times) and our friends are thrown into waters, and trod upon, till the very blood gusheth out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the names of the Commonwealth, and of the two protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience sake, who have not lifted up an hand against thee nor any man; and that the meetings of our friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people with their clubs, and swords, and staves. One of the greatest things that we have suffered for formerly, was, because we could not swear to the protectors and all the changeable governments, and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking of that, as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years, both in lives and estates, under these changeable governments, because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands, we should not swear at all, (Matth. v. Jam. v.) and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Hearken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of God, that by it such actions may be stopped, thou that hast the government, and mayest do it. We desire that all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for the truth's sake; and if thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought up before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings if required.'

G. F. & R. H.

I mentioned before, how that in the year 1650, I was kept prisoner six months in the house of correction at Derby, and that the keeper of the prison being a cruel man, and one that had dealt very wickedly by me, was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him because thereof; this man being afterwards convinced of truth, wrote me the following letter :

Dear Friend,

'Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition, remembering, that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument; so that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did, that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth; it makes me many times to think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian friends with thee, in haste, I rest,

Thine, in Christ Jesus,

Thomas Sharman.'

Derby, the 22d of the
4th month, 1662.

There were two of our friends in prison in the Inquisition at Malta; they were both women; the name of the one was Katharine Evans, and of the other Sarah Chevers. I was told that one, called the Lord D'Aubeny, could procure their liberty, wherefore I went to him; and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, desired him to write to the magistrates there for their release. He readily promised me he would, and said if I would come again within a month, he would tell me of their discharge. I went again about that time, and he said he thought his letters had miscarried, because he had received no answer. But he promised he would write again, and he did so; and thereupon they were both set at liberty.

With this great man I had a great deal of reasoning about religion, and he did confess that Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his

spiritual light, and that he had tasted death for every man, and that the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared to all men, and that it would teach them and bring their salvation, if they did obey it. Then I asked him what would they (the papists) do with all their relicks and images, if they did own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them and bring their salvation? And he said, those things were but policies to keep people in subjection. Very free he was in discourse, and I never heard a papist confess so much as he did. Now though several about the court began to grow loving to friends, yet the persecution was very hot, and several friends died in prison. Whereupon I gave forth a little paper concerning the grounds and rise of persecution, which was thus:

‘All the sufferings of the people of God in all ages were, because they could not join to the national religions and worships, which men had made and set up, and because they would not forsake God’s religion and his worship, which he had set up. And ye may see through all chronicles and histories how that the priests joined with the powers of the nations; the magistrates, and sooth-sayers, and fortune tellers, all these joined against the people of God, and did imagine vain things against them in their counsels. And when the Jews did badly, they turned against Moses; and when the Jewish kings transgressed the law of God, then they persecuted the prophets, as may be seen in the prophets’ writings. And when Christ the substance came, then the Jews persecuted Christ and his apostles and disciples; and when the Jews had not power enough of themselves to persecute answerable to their wills, then they got the heathen gentiles to help them against Christ, and against his apostles and disciples, who were in the spirit and power of Christ.’

G. F.

Now after I had made some stay in London, and had cleared myself of those services that at that time lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs (who was lately come back from Alexandria in Egypt, as was mentioned before.) We travelled down through the countries, visiting friends’ meetings till we came to Bristol. When we were come thither, we understood that the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting. Yet on the first-day we went to the meeting at Broadmead, and Alexander Parker standing up first to declare, while he was speaking the

officers came up and took him away. After he was gone I stood up in the eternal power of God, and declared the everlasting truth of the Lord God, and the heavenly power came over all, and the meeting was quiet the rest of the time and broke up peaceably. I tarried till the first-day following, visiting friends and being visited by friends. On the first-day in the morning several friends came to me to Edward Pyot's house (where I lay the night before) and used great endeavours to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day, for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised the trained bands. I wished them to go their way to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do, but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go to the meeting, and he sent his son with me to shew me the way from his house by the fields. As I went I met divers friends who were coming to me to prevent my going, and did what they could to stop me: what, said one, wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast! Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon, said another. But I put them by and went on. When I came into the meeting Margaret Thomas was speaking, and when she had done I stood up. Now I saw a concern and fear upon friends for me, but the power of the Lord, in which I declared, soon struck the fear out of them; and life sprang, and an heavenly glorious meeting we had. After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray; and after I had prayed and was stept down, I was moved to stand up again, and tell friends now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver. A very large full meeting this was, and very hot; but truth was over all, and the life was up, which carried through all, and the meeting broke up in peace. For the officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time, so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards they were in a great rage that they had missed me, for they were heard to say one to another before, I'll warrant we shall have him; but the Lord prevented them. I went from the meeting to Joan Hily's, where many friends came to see me, rejoicing and blessing God for our deliverance. In the evening I had a fine fresh meeting among friends at a friend's house over the water, where friends were much refreshed in the Lord. After this I stayed most part of that week in Bristol, and at Edward Pyot's. Edward was brought so low and weak with an ague, that when I came first thither, he was looked upon as a dying man; but it pleased the Lord to

raise him up again, so that before I went away his ague left him, and he was finely well.

Now having been two first-days together at the meeting at Broadmead, and feeling my spirit clear of Bristol, I went next first-day to a meeting in the country not far from Bristol. And after the meeting was over, some friends that came from Bristol, told me that the soldiers that day had beset the meeting-house round at Bristol, and then went up, saying they would be sure to have me now; but when they came up and found me not there, they were in a great rage, and kept the friends in the meeting-house most part of the day before they would let them go home, and queried of them which way I was gone, and how they might send after me; for the mayor, they said, would fain have spoken with me. But I had a vision of a great mastiff dog that would have bitten me, but I put one hand above his jaws, and the other hand below, and tore his jaws to pieces. So the Lord by his power tore their power to pieces, and made way for me to escape them. Then passed I through the countries, visiting friends in Wiltshire and Berkshire, till I came to London, and had great meetings amongst friends as I went; and the Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth. It was indeed the immediate hand and power of the Lord that did preserve me out of their hands at Bristol, and over the heads of all our persecutors, and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve for his name and truth's sake.

At London I staid not long this time, but was drawn in my spirit to visit friends northward, as far as Leicestershire, John Stubbs being with me. So we travelled down through the countries, having meetings amongst friends as we went, and at Skegby we had a great meeting. Thence passing on, we came to a place called Barnet-hills, where lived then one captain Brown, a baptist, whose wife was convinced of truth. This captain Brown, after the act for breaking up meetings came forth, being afraid lest his wife should go to meetings and be cast into prison, left his house at Barrow, and took a place on these hills, saying his wife should not go to prison. And this being a free place, many, both priests and others, got thither as well as he. But he who would neither stand to truth himself nor suffer his wife, was in this place where he thought to be safe, found out by the Lord, whose hand fell heavy upon him for his unfaithfulness, so that he was sorely plagued, and grievously judged in himself for flying and drawing his wife into that private place. We went to see his wife,

and being come into the house, I asked him how he did? How do I? said he, the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am; God may look for a witness for me and such as me, for if all were no faithfuller than I, God would have no witness left in the earth. In this condition he lived there on bread and water, and thought it was too good for him. At length he got home again with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth and died in it. A little before his death he said, though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death, and would be buried in his orchard, and was so. He was an example to all the flying baptists in the time of persecution, who could not bear persecution themselves, and yet persecuted us when they had power.

From Barnet Hills we came to Swanington in Leicestershire, where Will. Smith and some other friends came to me, but they passed away towards night, leaving me at a friend's house in Swanington. At night, as I was sitting in the hall, speaking to a widow woman and her daughter, there came one called lord Beaumont with a company of soldiers, who slapping their swords on the door, rushed into the house with their swords and pistols in their hands, crying, put out the candles and make fast the doors. Then they seized upon the friends in the house, and asked if there were no more about the house? The friends told them, there was one man more in the hall. Now there being some friends that came out of Derbyshire, one of them was named Thomas Fauks; and this lord Beaumont (so called) after he had asked all their names, bid his man set down that man's name Thomas Fox; but the friend said, nay, his name was not Fox but Fauks. In the mean time some of the soldiers came, and fetched me out of the hall, and brought me to him, and he asked me my name; I told him my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. Ay, said he, you are known all the world over; I said, I was known for no hurt, but for good. Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and plucked out my comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters, as he pretended, I told him I was no letter carrier, and asked him why would he come amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols without a constable, which was contrary to the king's proclamation and to the late act? For he could not say there was a meeting, I being only talking with a poor widow woman and her daughter. By reasoning thus

with him he came somewhat down; yet sending for the constables, he gave them charge of us that night, and to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the town's people upon us that night, and had us up next morning to his house, about a mile from Swanington. When we came before him, he told us we met contrary to the act; whereupon I desired him to shew us the act. Why, says he, you have it in your pocket. I told him he did not find us in a meeting. Then he asked us, whether we would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy? I told him, I never took any oath in all my life, nor engagement, nor the covenant; yet still he would force the oath upon us. Then I desired him to shew us the oath, that we might see whether we were the persons the oath was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the discovery of popish recusants. At length he brought forth a little book; but we called for the statute-book. He would not shew us that, but caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned, that we were to have had a meeting; and with this mittimus he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester jail. But when the constables had brought us back to Swanington, it being harvest time it was hard to get any body to go with us, for the people were loth to go with their neighbours to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus to have carried it ourselves to the jail, for it had been usual for constables to give friends their own mittimus, (for they durst trust friends) and they have gone themselves with their mittimus to the jailer. But we told them, though our friends had sometimes done so, yet we would not take this mittimus, but some of them should go with us to the jail. At last they hired a poor labouring man to go with us, who yet was loth to have gone, though hired; so we rid through the country to Leicester, being five of us in number; some carried their bibles open in their hands, declaring the truth to the people, as we rode in the fields and through the towns, and telling them, we were the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for his name and truth-sake; and one woman friend carried her wheel on her lap to spin on in prison; and the people were mightily affected. At Leicester we went to an inn, and the master of the house seemed to be troubled that we should go to prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise with, and would have taken up the mittimus and kept us in his own house, and not have let us gone into the jail. But I told friends, it would be great

charge to lie at an inn, and many friends and people would be coming to visit us, and it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house; and besides, we had many friends in the prison already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know that we were sensible of his kindness, and to prison we went; the poor man that brought us thither, delivering both the mittimus and us to the jailer. This jailer had been a very wicked cruel man; and there being six or seven friends in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and thrust them into the dungeon amongst the felons, where was hardly room for them to lie down, they were so thronged. We staid all that day in the prison-yard, and desired the jailer to let us have some straw; he surlily answered, you do not look like men that would lie on straw. After a while William Smith, a friend, came to me, and he being acquainted in the house, I asked him what rooms there were in the house, and what rooms friends usually had been put into, before they were put into the dungeon: I asked him also, whether the jailer or his wife was master? He said, the wife was master, and that, though she was lame, and sate mostly in her chair, not being able to go but on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as she would have him do. Now I considered, that probably many friends might come to visit us, and that, if we had a room to ourselves it would be better for them to speak to me, and for me to speak to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore I desired William Smith to go speak with the woman, and let her know, if she would let us have a room, and let our friends come up out of the dungeon, and leave it to us and them, to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went, and after some reasoning with her, she consented, and we were had into a room. Then we were told that the jailer would not suffer us to fetch any drink out of the town into the prison, but that what beer we drank we must take of him. I told them I would remedy that, if they would, for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us.

Before we came there, when those few friends that were prisoners there, did meet together on the first-days, if any of them was moved to pray to the Lord, the jailer would come up with his great quarter-staff in his hand, and his mastiff dog at his heels, and would pluck them down by

the hair of the head, and strike them with his staff; but when he struck friends, the mastiff dog, instead of falling upon friends, would take the staff out of his hand. Now when the first-day came, after we came in, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners, to carry down a stool and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons, that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the debtors and prisoners went into the yard, and we went down, and had a very precious meeting, the jailer not meddling. Thus every first-day we had a meeting there as long as we staid in prison; and several came in out of the city and country, and many were convinced, and some received the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the sessions came we were had up before the justices, with many more friends, that were sent to prison whilst we were there, to the number of about twenty. Being brought into the court, the jailer put us into the place where the thieves were put, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to us. I told them I never took any oath in my life, and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and his apostle forbad it; and therefore they put it but as a snare to us. But we told them, if they could prove, that after Christ and the apostle had forbid swearing, they did ever command Christians to swear, then we would take these oaths, otherwise we were resolved to obey Christ's command and the apostle's exhortation. They said, we must take the oath, that we might manifest our allegiance to the king. I told them, I had been formerly sent up a prisoner by colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that I held meetings to plot to bring in king Charles. I also desired them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our commitment to be, that we were to have a meeting; and I said, he that was called lord Beaumont could not by that act send us to jail, unless we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be such persons as the act speaks of; therefore we desired they would read the mittimus, and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury and indicted us for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman of the city, spake to them, and bid them have a good conscience; and one of the jury, being a peevish

man, told the justices, there was one affronted the jury ; whereupon they called him up and tendered him the oath also, and he took it.

While we were standing in the place, where the thieves used to stand, there was a cut-purse had his hand in several friends pockets, and friends declared it to the justices, and shewed them the man ; they called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it, yet they set him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned and brought us in guilty ; and then, after some words, the justices whispered together, and bid the jailer take us down to prison again ; but the Lord's power was over them and his everlasting truth, which we declared boldly amongst them. And there being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us ; so that the cryer and bailiffs were feign to call the people back again to the court ; we declared the truth as we went down the streets all along, till we came to the jail, the streets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after some time the jailer came to us, and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners, and when they were gone, he said, ' Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure, that ye should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes ; and you know, there are fees due to me, but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will.'

Thus were we all set at liberty on a sudden ; and being thus set at liberty, the rest passed every one into their services ; only Leonard Fell (being come thither) staid with me, and we two went again to Swanington. I had a letter from him they called the lord Hastings, who hearing of my imprisonment, had written from London to the justices at the sessions to set me at liberty. Now I had not delivered this letter to the justices, but whether they had any knowledge of his mind from any other hand, which made them discharge us so suddenly, I know not ; but this letter I carried to him called the lord Beaumont who had sent us to prison, and when he had broken it open, and read it, he seemed much troubled ; but at last came a little lower, yet threatened us, if we had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up and send us to prison again. But notwithstanding his threats, we went to Swanington and had a meeting with friends there, and he came not, nor sent not to break it up.

From Swanington we passed through the country, and came to a place called Twy-cross, where that great man formerly mentioned, whom the Lord God had raised up

from his sickness in the year 1649, (and whose serving-man came at me with a drawn sword to have done me a mischief,) he and his wife came to see me. From thence we travelled through Warwickshire, where we had brave meetings, and so into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire visiting friends till we came to London.

I staid not long at this time in London, but went into Essex, and so into the east, and to Norfolk, having great meetings. At Norwich, when I came to captain Lawrence's, there was great threatening of disturbance, but the meeting was quiet. Passing from thence to Sutton, and so into Cambridgeshire, there I heard of Edward Burrough's decease: and being sensible how great a grief and exercise it would be to friends to part with him, I writ the following lines to friends for the staying and settling of their minds:

Friends,

'Be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God that doth not change, that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you in the seed, in which and by which he begat you to God, with whom he is; and that in the seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and so enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible.'

G. F.

From thence I passed to Little Port and the Isle of Ely, where he that had been the mayor, with his wife, and the wife of the then present mayor of Cambridge came to the meeting. So travelling on into Lincolnshire and Huntingdonshire, I came to Thomas Parnel's, where the mayor of Huntingdon came to see me, and was very loving. From thence passing on I came into the fen-country, where we had large and quiet meetings. While I was in that country, there came so great a flood that it was dangerous to get out, yet we did get out and went to Lynn, where we had a blessed meeting. Next morning I went to visit some prisoners there, and then back to the inn and took horse; and as I was riding out of the yard, the officers (it seems) came to search the inn for me. I knew nothing of it then, only I felt a great burden come upon me as I rode out of the town, till I was got without their gates; and when some friends that came after, overtook me, they told me that the officers had been searching for me in the inn, as soon as I was gone out of the yard: so by the good hand of the Lord I escaped their cruel hands. After this we

passed through the countries visiting friends in their meetings; and the Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits and through many dangers, and his truth spread and grew, and friends were established therein: praises and glory to his name for ever.

And so having passed through Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertfordshire, we came to London again, where I staid awhile, visiting friends in their meetings, which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all. After some time I left the city again and travelled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me, and we went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and a very blessed meeting; and on the first-day we had a very good and peaceable meeting at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden and had a meeting there, to which many friends came from several parts, and many of the world's people came in, and were reached by truth. When the meeting was done I walked with Thomas Briggs into a close, while our horses were got ready, and turning my head I espied a captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of the soldiers came to Thomas and me, and said we must go to their captain; and when they had brought us before him, he asked where was George Fox? which was he? I said, I am the man: then he came to me and was somewhat struck, and said, I will secure you among the soldiers. So he called for the soldiers to take me, and then he took Thomas Briggs and the man of the house, and many more; but the power of the Lord was mightily over him and them all: then he came to me again, and said, I must go along with him to the town, and he carried himself pretty civilly, bidding the soldiers bring the rest after. As we walked, I asked him why they did thus; for I had not seen so much ado a great while, and I bid him be civil to his neighbours who were peaceable. When we were come to the town, they had us to an inn that was the jailer's house; and after awhile the mayor of the town, and this captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came together, and examined me why I came thither to make a disturbance: I told them, I did not come to make a disturbance, neither had I made any disturbance since I came. They said, there was a law which was against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them. I told them I knew no such law; then they brought forth the act that was made against Quakers and others; I told them, that was against such as were a terror to the king's subjects, and were enemies and held dangerous principles to the government, and therefore that

was not against us, for we held truth, and our principles were not dangerous to the government, and our meetings were peaceable as they knew, who knew their neighbours were a peaceable people. They told me I was an enemy to the king; I told them, we loved all people and were enemies to none; and that I, for my own part, had been cast into Derby dungeon many years ago, about the time of Worcester fight, because I would not take up arms against him, and that I was afterward brought by colonel Hacker to London as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and was kept prisoner at London till I was set at liberty by Oliver. They asked me, whether I was imprisoned in the time of the insurrection: I said yes, I had been imprisoned then and since that also, and had been set at liberty by the king's own command. So I opened the act to them and shewed them the king's late declaration, and gave them the examples of other justices, and told them also what the House of Lords had said of it. I spake also to them concerning their own conditions, exhorting them to live in the fear of God, and to be tender towards their neighbours that feared God, and to mind God's wisdom by which all things were made and created, that they might come to receive it, and be ordered by it, and by it order all things to God's glory. They demanded bond of us for our appearance at the sessions, but we pleading our innocency refused to give bond; then they would have had us promise to come no more there, but we kept clear of that also. When they saw they could not bring us to their terms, they told us we should see they were civil to us, for it was the mayor's pleasure we should all be set at liberty. I told them their civility was noble, and so we parted.

Then leaving Tenterden we went into Sussex, and came to Newick where were some friends whom we visited, and from thence passed on through the country visiting friends and having great meetings, and all quiet and free from disturbance (except by some jangling baptists) till we came into Hampshire; where after we had had a good meeting at Southampton, we went to a place called Pulner in the parish of Ringwood, where there was to be a monthly meeting next day, to which many friends came from Southampton, Pool, and other places, and the weather being very hot, some of them came pretty early in the morning. I took a friend and walked out with him into the orchard, inquiring of him how the affairs of truth stood amongst them; (for many of them had been convinced by me before I was a prisoner in Cornwall.) While we were

discoursing another young man came to us, and told us the trained bands were raising, and he heard they would come and break up the meeting. It was not yet meeting time by about three hours, and there being other friends walking in the orchard also, the friend that I was discoursing with before, desired me to walk into a corn field adjoining to the orchard, and so we did. After a while the young man that spake of the trained bands left us and went away; and when he was gone a pretty way, he stood and waved his hat: whereupon I spake to the other young man that was with me to go and see what he ailed, and he went, but came not to me again; for the soldiers it seems were come and were in the orchard. And as I kept walking I could see the soldiers, and some of them, as I heard afterwards, did see me, but had no mind to meddle. So the soldiers coming so long before the meeting-time they did not tarry, but took what friends they found at the house, and some that they met in the lane coming, and had them away. After they were gone, and it grew towards the eleventh hour, friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had; for the everlasting seed of God was set over all, and the people were settled in the new covenant of life upon the foundation Christ Jesus. Toward the latter part of the meeting there came a man in gay apparel, and looked into the meeting while I was declaring, and went away again presently. This man came with an evil intent, for he went forthwith to Ringwood, and told the magistrates they had taken two or three men at Pulner, and had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred people. Upon this the magistrates sent the officers and soldiers again; but the meeting being near ended when that man looked in, and he having about a mile and an half to go with his information to Ringwood to fetch the soldiers, and they as much to come back after they had received their orders, before they could come our meeting was over, ending about the third hour peaceably and orderly. After the meeting I spake to the friends of the house where this meeting was, (the woman of the house lying then dead in the house) and then some friends had me to another friend's house at a little distance from the meeting-place; where, after we had refreshed ourselves I took horse, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one — Frye's house in Wiltshire, where a meeting was appointed to be next day.

After we were gone the officers and soldiers came in a great heat, and when they found they were come too late

and had missed their prey, they were much enraged, and the officers were offended with the soldiers, that they had not seized my horse in the stable the first time they came: but the Lord by his good providence did deliver me, and prevented them of their mischievous design. For the officers were envious men and had an evil mind against friends, but the Lord brought his judgments upon them, so that it was taken notice of by their neighbours. For 'whereas before they were wealthy men, after this their estates wasted away; and John Line who was the constable, (and who was not only very forward in putting on the soldiers to take friends, but also carried those that were taken to prison, and took a false oath against them at the assize, upon which they were fined and continued prisoners) he was a sad spectacle to behold. For his flesh rotting away while he lived, he died in a very miserable condition, wishing he had never meddled with the Quakers, and confessing that he never prospered since he had an hand in persecuting them; and that he thought the hand of the Lord was against him for it.'

At—Frye's in Wiltshire we had a very blessed meeting and quiet, though the officers had a purpose to have broken it up, and were coming on their way in order thereunto. But before they were got to the meeting word was brought after them, that there was an house newly broken up by thieves, and they were required to go back again with speed, to search after and pursue the thieves; by which means our meeting escaped disturbance, and we were delivered out of their hands.

We passed through Wiltshire into Dorsetshire, having large and good meetings, and the Lord's everlasting power was with us and carried us over all, in which we sounded forth his saving truth and word of life which many gladly received: thus travelling through the countries we visited friends, till we came to Topsham in Devonshire, travelling some weeks eight or nine score miles a week, and had meetings every day. At Topsham we met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, Sarah and Mary, and with Leonard Fell and Thomas Salthouse. From thence we passed to Totness where we visited some friends, and then on to Kingsbridge and so to old Henry Pollexfen's, who had been an ancient justice of peace; there we had a large meeting; and from thence this old justice passed with us to Plymouth, and so into Cornwall to one justice Porter's, and from thence to Thomas Mount's, where we had another large meeting. After which we went to Humphrey Lower's, where also we had a large meeting, and from

thence to Loveday Hambley's, where we had a general meeting for the whole country, and all was quiet.

A little before this there had been in those parts Joseph Hellen and G. Bewly, and they had been at Loo to visit one Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, under pretence to convince and convert her; but before they came from her, she had so darkened them with her principles that they seemed to be like her disciples, especially Joseph Hellen; for she had asked them who made the devil, did not God? This idle question so puzzled them, that they could not answer her. They afterwards asked me that question, and I told them, no, for all that God made was good and was blest, so was not the devil; and he was called a serpent before he was called a devil and an adversary, and then he had the title of devil given to him; and afterward he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer; the devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he became a devil, and so the Jews when they went out of the truth were said to be of the devil, and were called serpents. Now there is no promise of God to the devil that ever he shall return to truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, shall break his power and strength to pieces. Now when these things were opened more at large to the satisfaction of friends, these two who had let up the spirit of that ranting woman, were judged by the truth; and one of them, viz. Joseph Hellen, run quite out from truth and was denied by friends; but George Bewly was recovered, and came afterwards to be serviceable to truth.

We passed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges, near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting, and from thence we went to Helstone that night, where some friends came to visit us, and the next day we passed to Thomas Teage's, where we had another large meeting, at which many were convinced; for I was led to open the state of the church in the primitive times, and the state of the church in the wilderness, and the state of the false church that was got up since, and to shew that now the everlasting gospel was preached again over the head of the whore, beast, and false prophets, and antichrists, which had got up since the apostles' days; and now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light, that they might see over the devil that had darkened them: and the people received the gospel and the word of life gladly, and a glorious blessed meeting we had for the exalting the

Lord's everlasting truth and his name. After the meeting was done I walked out, and as I was coming in again I heard a noise in the court, and coming nearer, I found the man of the house speaking to the tanners and others of the world's people, and telling them it was the everlasting truth that had been declared there that day, and the people generally confessed to it.

From thence we passed to the Land's End to John Ellis's house where we had a precious meeting; and there was a fisherman, one Nicholas Jose, that was convinced, and he spake in meetings and declared the truth amongst the people, and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad that the Lord had raised up his standard in those dark parts of the nation, where since there is a fine meeting of honest-hearted friends, and many there are come to sit under Christ's teaching; and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

From thence we returned to Redruth, and the next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning some of the chief of the town desired to speak with me, and I went to them, amongst whom was colonel Rouse. A great deal of discourse I had with them concerning the things of God, and in their reasoning they said the gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and they called it natural. But I told them the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke and John or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached to every creature, (of which a great part might never see nor hear of those four books,) so that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Christ, the spiritual man, would judge the world according to the gospel, that is, according to his invisible power. When they heard this they could not gainsay, for the truth came over them. So I directed them to their Teacher, the grace of God, and shewed them the sufficiency of it, which would teach them how to live and what to deny, and being obeyed would bring them their salvation; and so to that grace I recommended them and left them.

Then returned we through the country, visiting friends, and had meetings at Humphrey Lower's again, and at Thomas Mount's: and afterwards at George Hawkins at Stoke we had a large meeting, to which friends came from Launceston and several other places; and a living precious meeting it was, in which the Lord's presence and power was richly manifested amongst us; and I left friends there under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

In Cornwall I was informed that there was one colonel

Robinson, a very wicked man, who after the king came in was made a justice of the peace, and became a cruel persecutor of our friends, of whom he sent many to prison; and hearing that they had some little liberty, through the favour of the jailer, to come home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made a great complaint thereof to the judge at the assize against the jailer; whereupon the jailer was fined an hundred marks, and friends were kept very strictly up for a while. After he was come home from the assize, he sent to a neighbouring justice, to desire them to go a fanatic-hunting with him: so on the day that he intended, and was prepared to go a fanatic-hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself on foot from his dwelling house to a tenement that he had, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. When he came there he asked for his bull, and the maid-servants said they had shut him into the field, because he was unruly amongst the kine and hindered their milking. Then went he into the field to his bull, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with the bull, he began to fence at him with his staff as he used to do; but the bull snuffed at him and passed a little back, and then turning upon him again, ran fiercely at him and struck his horn into his thigh, and heaving him upon his horn threw him over his back, and so tore up his thigh to his belly; and when he came to the ground again, he gored him with his horns, and would run them into the ground in his rage and violence, and roared, and licked up his master's blood. The maid-servant hearing her master cry out, came running into the field, and came to the bull, and took him by the horns to pull him off from her master. The bull, without hurting her, put her gently by with his horns, but still fell to goring of him and licking up his blood; then she ran and got some workmen, that were at work not far off, to come in and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him, and then the bull fled in a great rage and fury. Upon notice of it his sister came and said to him, 'Alack brother, what a heavy judgment is this that is befallen you!' And he answered, 'Ah, sister, it is an heavy judgment indeed; pray let the bull be killed and the flesh given to the poor,' said he. So they carried him home, but he died soon after; and the bull was grown so fierce that they were forced to shoot him with guns, for no man durst come near him to kill him. Thus does the Lord sometimes make some examples of his just

judgment upon the persecutors of his people, that others may fear and learn to beware.

Now after I had cleared myself of Cornwall, and Thomas Lower, (who had rid with us from meeting to meeting through that county) had brought us over Horsebridge into Devonshire again, we took our leave of him. And Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders, and I, came through the country to Tiverton, and it being their fair, and many friends there, we had a meeting amongst them, and the magistrates gathered in the street, but the Lord's power stopped them. I saw them in the street over against the door, but they had not power to come in to meddle with us, though they had will enough to have done it.

After the meeting was done we passed to Collumpton and to Wellington, for we had appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large meeting at a butcher's house, and a blessed meeting it was: for the people were directed to their Teacher, the grace of God, which would bring them salvation; and many were settled under its teaching; and the Lord's presence was amongst us, and we were refreshed in him, in whom we laboured and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. There had been very great persecution in that country, and in that town a little before, insomuch that some friends questioned the peaceableness of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and his glory shined over all. The friends told us how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry friends before the justices, and friends bid them carry them then. The officers told friends they must go: but friends said nay, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were fain to hire carts, and waggons, and horses, and to lift friends up into their waggons and carts, to carry them before a justice. And when they came to a justices's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, and if he were a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were forced to carry them before another; so that they were many days carting and carrying friends up and down from place to place. And when afterward the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves; and that brake the neck of their persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then were fain to give over.

At one place they warned friends to come to the steeple-house; and the friends met together to consider of it, and had freedom to go to the steeple-house, and meet together there. Accordingly when they came thither, they sate down together to wait upon the Lord in his power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour, but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to them to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the friends told them it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. Awhile after, when the priest had done his stuff, they came to the friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the friends told them they did not use to go to dinner, but were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sat, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and presence, till they found freedom in themselves to depart. Thus the priest's people were offended, because they could not get them to the steeple-house: and when they were there, they were offended, because they could not get them out again.

From the meeting near Collumpton we went to Taunton, where we had a large meeting, and the next day we came to a general meeting in Somersetshire, which was very large; and the Lord's everlasting word of life and truth was largely declared, and the people were refreshed thereby, and settled upon Christ their rock and foundation, and brought to sit under his teaching; and the meeting was peaceable. But about the second hour in the night there came a company of men about the house, and knocked at the door, and bid open the door, or they would break it open, for they wanted a man that they came to search the house for. I heard the noise, and got up, and at the window saw a man at the door with his sword by his side. When they had let him in he came into the chamber where I was, and looked on me, and said, You are not the man I look for: and so went his way.

We came from thence to Street, and so to Puddimore, to William Beaton's, where we had a very large general meeting, wherein the Lord's everlasting truth was declared, and the people refreshed thereby, and all quiet. From thence we went to John Dandy's, where we had another large and very precious meeting, and then passed on to Bristol, where we had good service for the Lord, and all quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters again. And after some time we went to Slattenford in Wiltshire, where was a very large meeting in a great barn, and good service we had there; for the truth,

as it is in Jesus, was published amongst them, and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord.

After this I passed into Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, having large meetings in each. In Hereford I had a meeting in the inn, and after the meeting was over, and I was gone, the magistrates hearing there had been a meeting, came to search the inn for me, and were vexed that they had missed of me. But the Lord so ordered it that I escaped their snare; and friends were established upon Christ their foundation, and the rock of ages.

Then went I into Wales, into Radnorshire, and had several precious meetings there; and the Lord's name and standard was set up, and many were gathered to it, and are settled under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour, who hath bought them.

After I was clear of Wales, I turned towards England again, and came to a market-town betwixt England and Wales, where was a great fair that day; and several friends being at the fair, we went to an inn, and friends came to us. And after we had had a fine opportunity with friends, we parted from them, and went on our way. The officers of the town took notice (it seems) of our being there, and friends gathered together to us; and they began also to get together to consult among themselves how to ensnare us, though it was the fair time, but before they could do any thing we were gone on our journey, and so escaped them.

From thence we came into Shropshire, where we had a large and precious meeting; and after we had had many meetings in those parts, we came into Warwickshire, and visited friends there, so came into Derbyshire and Staffordshire, visiting friends' meetings as we went. At a place called Whitehaugh, we had a large blessed meeting and quiet; and after the meeting was done, we took horse, and rode about twenty miles that night to one captain Lingard's. We heard afterwards that when we were gone, the officers came to have seized on us, and were much disturbed that they missed us; but the Lord disappointed them, and delivered us out of their wicked hands; and friends were joyful in the Lord that we escaped them.

At captain Lingard's we had a blessed meeting, the Lord's presence being wonderfully amongst us. After this meeting we passed through the Peak-country in Derbyshire, and after we had been at a friend's house there, we went on to Sunderhill-green, where we had a large meeting. Here John Whitehead came to me, and several other friends, and then I passed through the country, visiting

friends, till I came to Holderness. We went to the farther end of Holderness, and so passed down by Scarborough and Whitby, and near Malton, and then to York, having many meetings in the way, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all.

At York I heard of a plot; whereupon I was moved to declare against all plots and plotters, both in public and private; and also to give forth a paper against plotting, of which a copy here followeth;

'All friends every where; keep out of plots and bustlings, and the arm of flesh: for all that is among Adam's sons in the fall, where they are destroying men's lives like dogs, and beasts, and swine; goring, rending, biting, and destroying one another, and wrestling with flesh and blood. From whence riseth wars and killings but from the lusts? And all this is in Adam in the fall, out of Adam that never fell; in whom there is peace and life. And ye are called to peace, therefore follow it; and Christ is that peace: for all that pretend to fight for Christ, they are deceived, and are in Adam in the fall; for Christ's kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Therefore fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, and are without Christ's kingdom, for his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness. And so fighters are in the lust: and all that would destroy men's lives are not of Christ's mind, who comes to save men's lives. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, it is peaceable, and all that be in strifes are not of his kingdom, nor any such as pretend to fight for the gospel. The gospel is the power of God, which was before the devil or fall of man was, or fighters either; which is the gospel of peace. And they that pretend to fighting, and talk so for fighting, are ignorant of the gospel of peace. And all that talk of fighting for Sion are in darkness, for Sion needs no such helpers. And all such as profess themselves to be ministers of Christ, and Christians, and to beat down the whore with outward carnal weapons; the flesh and the whore are got up in themselves in a blind zeal. That which beats down the whore, which got up by the inward ravening from the Spirit of God, the beating down of the whore, must be by the inward rising of the sword in the spirit within. All such as pretend Christ Jesus, and confess him, and run into carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual: that are wrestlers with flesh and blood, they throw away Christ's doctrine, and flesh is got up in them, and they are weary of their sufferings. And such as would revenge themselves

be out of Christ's doctrine ; and such as would be stricken on the one cheek and would not turn the other, be out of Christ's doctrine : and such as do not love one another, and love enemies, be out of Christ's doctrine. And therefore you, that be heirs of the blessings of God (which was before the curse and the fall was) come to inherit your portions. And you that be heirs of the gospel of peace, before the devil was, live in the gospel of peace, seeking the peace of all men, and the good of all men. And live in Christ, which comes to save men's lives out of Adam in the fall, where they destroy men's lives, and live not in him. For the Jews sword outwardly, by which they cut down the heathen, was a type of the Spirit of God within, which cuts down the heathenish nature within : so live in the peaceable kingdom of Christ Jesus, and in the peace of God, and not in the lusts from whence wars arise. And live in Christ the way of God, who is the second Adam, who never fell ; and live not in Adam in the fall, in the destruction, where they destroy one another : therefore come out of Adam in the fall, into that Adam that never fell, and so live in love and peace with all men. And keep out of all the bustlings in the world, and meddle not with the powers of the earth, but mind the kingdom, and the way of peace. You that be heirs of grace, and heirs of the kingdom, and heirs of the gospel, and heirs of salvation, and saints of the Most High, and children of God, whose conversations are in heaven, that is above the combustions of the earth, let your conversations preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that they beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. And all friends every where, this I charge you, which is the word of the Lord unto you all, live in peace in Christ, the way of peace, in which seek the peace of all men, and no man's hurt, as I said before. In Adam in the fall is no peace, but in Adam out of the fall, in him is the peace : so you being in Adam that never fell, it is love that overcomes the evil, and not hatred with hatred, nor strife with strife. And therefore live in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and seeking the good and welfare of all men.'

G. F.

' Let this go among friends every where.'

We went from York to Burrowbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. Thence we passed into the Bishoprick to one Richmond's, where there was a general meeting ; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were

grown exceeding rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's, where we stayed all night; and the next morning a friend came to me as I was passing away, and told me, if the priests and justices (for many priests were made justices in that country at that time) could light on me they would destroy me.

But I being clear of the Bishopricks went over Stainmore into part of Yorkshire, and to Sedberg, where having visited friends I went into Westmoreland, visiting friends there also. From thence I passed into Lancashire and came to Swarthmore, where I staid but a little while before I went over the sands to Arnside, where I had a general meeting. After that meeting was ended there came some men to have broken it up, but understanding before they got thither that the meeting was over, they turned back. I went to Robert Widder's, and from thence to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting, and the Lord's power was set over all. From thence I passed to Grayrigge, and having visited friends there, I went to Ann Audland's, where they would have had me to have staid their meeting the next day; but I felt a stop in my spirit, and it was upon me to go to John Blaykling's in Sedberg, and to be next day at the meeting there, which is large, and a precious people there is. So we had a very good meeting next day at Sedberg, but the constables went to Ann Audland's to their meeting to look for me. Thus by the good hand and disposing Providence of the Lord I escaped their snare.

I went from John Blaykling's with Leonard Fell to Strickland-head, where on the first-day we had a very precious meeting on the common. That night we staid amongst friends there, and the next day passed into Northumberland. After the justices had heard of this meeting at Strickland-head, they made search for me, but by the good hand of the Lord I escaped them again, though there were some very wicked justices. We went to Hugh Hutchinson's house in Northumberland (a friend in the ministry) from whence we visited friends thereabouts, and then went to Darwin-Water, where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman to me, and told me her husband remembered his love to me, and she said I might call him to mind by this token, that I used to call him the Tall White Old Man. She said he was six score and two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but that his horses were all employed upon some urgent occasion. I heard he lived some years after.

Now when I had visited friends in those parts, and they were settled upon Christ their foundation, their rock, and their teacher, I passed through Northumberland, and came into Cumberland to old Thomas Bewley's. And friends came about me, and said would I come there to go into prison! For there was great persecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewley's, which was large and precious, and the Lord's power was over all.

One Musgrave was at that time deputy governor of Carlisle, and I passing along the country came to a man's house that had been convinced, whose name was Fletcher, and he told me if Musgrave knew that I was there he would be sure to send me to prison, he was such a severe man. But I staid not there, only called on the way to see this man; and then went on to one William Pearson's, near Wigton, where the meeting was, which was very large and precious. Some friends were then prisoners at Carlisle, whom I visited by a letter, which Leonard Fell carried. From William Pearson's I passed through the countries visiting friends, till I came to Pardsey-Crag, where we had a general meeting which was large, and all was quiet and peaceable, and the glorious powerful presence of the everlasting God was with us.

So eager were the magistrates about this time to stir up persecution in those parts, that they offered, some five shillings, some a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the speakers amongst the Quakers; but it being now the time of the quarter sessions in that county, the men who were so hired, were gone to the sessions to see to get their wages, and so all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardsey-Crag we went into Westmoreland, calling in the way upon Hugh Tickell near Keswick, and upon Thomas Laythes, where friends came to visit us, and we had a fine opportunity to be refreshed together. We went that night to one Francis Benson's in Westmoreland, near justice Fleming's house. This justice Fleming was at that time in a great rage against friends, and me in particular, insomuch that in the open sessions at Kendal just before, he had bid five pounds to any man that should take me, that friend Francis Benson told me. And it seems as I went to this friend's house, I met one man coming from the sessions that had this five pounds offered him to take me, and he knew me, for as I passed by him he said to his companion, that is George Fox; yet he had not power to touch me, for the Lord's power preserved me over them all. And the justices being so eager to have me, and I

being so often nigh them, and yet they missing me, it tormented them the more.

I went from thence to James Taylor's at Cartmel in Lancashire, where I staid the first-day and had a precious meeting, and after the meeting was done I came over the sands to Swarthmore.

When I came there they told me colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant thither to search for me, and that he had searched trunks and chests for me. That night as I was in bed I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirby-hall, which was colonel Kirby's house, about five miles off, to speak with him, and I did so. When I came thither, I found there the Flemmings and several others of the gentry (so called) of the country, who were come to take their leave of colonel Kirby, he being then to go up to London to the parliament. I was had into the parlour amongst them, but colonel Kirby was not then within, being gone forth a little way; so they said little to me nor I much to them. But after a little while colonel Kirby came in, and then I spake to him and told him, I came to visit him, understanding that he would have seen me, and to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had any thing against me. He said, before all the company, 'As he was a gentleman he had nothing against me. But, said he, mistress Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they meet contrary to the act. I told him, that act did not take hold on us, but on such as did meet to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the king, whereas we were no such people; for he knew that they that met at Margaret Fell's house were his neighbours, and a peaceable people. After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand, and said again he had nothing against me, and others of them said I was a deserving man. So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmore.

Shortly after, when colonel Kirby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-hall, where justice Preston lived, and there they granted forth a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and so could have gone away and got out of their reach if I would; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myself of the north, and the Lord's power was over all. But I considered there being a noise of a plot in the north, if I should go away they might fall upon poor friends, but if I gave up myself to be taken, it might stop them, and friends should escape the better. So I gave up myself to be taken, and prepared myself against

they came. Next day an officer came with his sword and pistols to take me; I told him I knew his errand before, and had given up myself to be taken, for if I would have escaped their imprisonment I could have gone forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so mattered not what they could do to me. He asked me how I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour. I said it was no matter for that, it was sufficient that I heard of it. Then I asked him to let me see his order, whereupon he laid his hand on his sword, and said I must go with him before the lieutenants to answer such questions as they should propose to me. I told him it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order, but he would not. Then said I, I am ready. So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell went with us to Houlker-hall. And when we came thither, there was one Rawlinson, called a justice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know, besides old justice Preston who lived there. They brought one Thomas Atkinson, a friend of Cartmel, as a witness against me, for some words which he had told to one Knipe who had informed them, which words were, that I had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down; which words they could not make much of, for I told them I had heard of a plot and had written against it. Then old Preston asked me whether I had an hand in that script; I asked him what he meant; he said in the Battledore; I answered yes. Then he asked me whether I did understand languages. I said sufficient for myself, and that I knew no law that was transgressed by it. I told them also that to understand those outward languages was no matter of salvation; for the many tongues began but at the confusion of Babel; and if I did understand any thing of them, I judged and knocked them down again for any matter of salvation that was in them. Thereupon he turned away, and said George Fox knocks down all the languages: come, said he, we will examine you of higher matters.

Then said George Middleton, You deny God and the church, and the faith. I replied, nay, I own God and the true church, and the true faith. But what church dost thou own, said I, (for I understood he was a papist.) Then he turned again and said, you are a rebel and a traitor. I asked him whom he spake to, or whom did he call rebel: he was so full of envy that for a while he could not speak, but at last he said he spake it to me. With that I struck my hand on the table and told him, I

had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that was there; for I had been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this king before Worcester fight; and I had been sent up prisoner out of my own country by colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles in the year 1654, and I had nothing but love and good will to the king, and desired the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects. Did you ever hear the like, said Middleton. Nay, said I, ye may hear it again if ye will. For ye talk of the king, a company of you, but where were ye in Oliver's days, and what did ye do then for him? But I have more love to the king for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have.

Then they asked me whether I had heard of the plots; and I said yes, I had heard of it. They asked me how I had heard of it, and whom I knew in it? I told them I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire, who had told Dr. Hodgson that there was a plot in the north, and that was the way I heard of it; but I never heard of any such thing in the south, nor till I came into the north. And as for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that, for I knew none of them. Then said they, why would you write against it if you did not know some that were in it. I said my reason was, because you are so forward to mash the innocent and guilty together, therefore I writ against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward foolish spirits from running into such things. And I sent copies of it into Westmoreland, Cumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire, and to you here; and I sent another copy of it to the king and his council, and it is like it may be in print by this time. One of them said, O, this man hath great power! I said, yes, I had power to write against plotters. Then said one of them, you are against the laws of the land. I answered, nay, for I and my friends direct all people to the spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh; this brings them into the well-doing, and from that which the magistrate's sword is against, which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of the evil-doers. So people being turned to the spirit of God, which brings them to mortify the deeds of the flesh, this brings them from under the occasion of the magistrate's sword; and this must needs be one with magistracy and one with the law, which was added because of transgression, and is for the praise of them that do well. So in this we establish the law, and

are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for all good government.

Then Geo. Middleton cried, Bring the book and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to him. Now he himself being a papist, I asked him whether he had taken the oath of supremacy, who was a swearer? But as for us we could not swear at all, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it. Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have let me have my liberty; but the rest would not agree to that; for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison, for all other things had been cleared to them. But this was like the papist's sacrament of the altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tendered me the oath, and I could not take it; whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster jail; but considering together of it, they only engaged me to appear at the sessions, and so for that time dismissed me. Then I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore; and soon after there came colonel West to see me, who was at that time a justice of the peace. He told us he told some of the rest of the justices that he would come over to see me and Margaret Fell, but it may be, said he to them, some of you will take offence at it. I asked him what he thought they would do with me at the sessions; and he said they would tender the oath to me again.

Now whilst I was at Swarthmore there came William Kirby into Swarthmore-meeting, and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with friends in the meeting, and he said to me, How now, Mr. Fox, you have a fine company here. Yes, said I, we do meet to wait upon the Lord. So he began to take the names of friends, and them that did not readily tell him their names, he committed to the constables hands, and sent some to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, whereupon he threatened to set them by the heels; but the constable told him he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.

The sessions now coming on, I went to Lancaster and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the bench that justice Flemming that had bidden five pounds in Westmoreland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a justice both in Westmoreland and Lancashire. There was also justice Spencer and colonel West, and old justice Rawlinson the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against truth and friends; but

the Lord's power stopped them. The session was large, and the concourse of people great; and way being made for me, I came up to the bar and stood there with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me and I upon them for a pretty space. Then proclamation being made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment, and all being quiet, I said twice, Peace be among you. Then spake the chairman, and asked if I knew where I was. I said, yes, I do, but it may be, said I, my hat offends you; that's a low thing, that's not the honour that I give to magistrates, for the true honour is from above, which, said I, I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour. The chairman said they looked for the hat too, and asked wherein I shewed my respect to magistrates if I did not put off my hat. I replied, in coming when they called me. Then they bid one take off my hat. After which it was some time before they spake to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise. After some pause, old justice Rawlinson (the chairman) asked me if I did know of the plot. I told him I had heard of it in Yorkshire by a friend that had it from the high-sheriff. Then they asked me whether I had declared it to the magistrates. I said I had sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my friends; for it was and is our principle to declare against such things. They asked me then if I knew not of an act against meetings. I said I knew there was an act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the king's subjects, and were enemies to the king, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the king's subjects, neither are we enemies to him or any man. Then they tendered me the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. I told them I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and his apostle had forbid it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers (I told them) first one way then another, but I had never taken any oath in my life. Then Rawlinson the lawyer, asked me whether I held it was unlawful to swear. This question he put on purpose to ensnare me, for by an act that was made such were liable to banishment or a great fine, that should say it was unlawful to swear. But I seeing the snare avoided it, and told him, that in the time of the law amongst the Jews before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law in his gospel-time, commands not to swear at all, and the apostle James for-

bids swearing even to them that were Jews, and that had the law of God. So after much other discourse had passed, they called for the jailer and committed me to prison. I had about me that paper which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read in open court, but they would not. So I being committed for refusing to swear, I bid them and all the people take notice, that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to his command. Afterwards I understood the justices did say that they had private instructions from colonel Kirby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them that he had nothing against me. There were several friends besides committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing, so that the prison was very full. And many of them being poor men, that had nothing to maintain their families by but their labour, which now they were taken off from, several of their wives went to the justices that had committed their husbands to jail, and told them if they kept their husbands in jail for nothing but the truth of Christ and for good conscience-sake, they would bring their children to them to be maintained. A mighty power of the Lord rose in friends, and gave them great boldness, so that they spake much to the justices; friends also that were prisoners writ unto the justices, laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and shewing them both their injustice and want of pity and compassion towards their poor neighbours, whom they knew to be honest, conscientious, and peaceable people, that in tenderness of conscience could not take any oath, yet they sent them to prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Though several of them who were imprisoned on that account, were known to be men that had served the king in his wars, and had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, and had suffered great hardships, with the loss of much blood for him, and had always stood faithful to him from first to last, and had never received any pay for their service; and to be thus requited for all their faithful services and sufferings, and that by them that pretended to be the king's friends, was hard, unkind and ungrateful dealing. At length the justices being continually attended with complaints of grievances, released some of the friends that were prisoners, but kept divers of them still in prison.

Amongst those that were then in prison, there were four friends prisoners for tithes, who were sent to prison at the

suit of the countess of Derby (so called) and had lain there then near two years and an half. One of these, whose name was Oliver Atherton, being a man of a weakly constitution, was, through his long and hard imprisonment in a cold, raw, unwholesome place, brought so low and weak in his body, that there appeared no hopes of his recovery, or life, unless he might be removed from thence. Wherefore a letter was written on behalf of the said Oliver Atherton to the said countess, and sent by his son Godfrey Atherton, wherein was laid before her the reasons why he and the rest could not pay tithes, because if they did they should deny Christ come in the flesh, who by his coming had put an end to tithes and to the priesthood, to which they had been given, and to the commandment, by which they had been paid under the law. And his weak condition of body was also laid before her, and the apparent likelihood of his death, if she did continue to hold him there; that she might be moved to pity and compassion, and also warned not to draw the guilt of his innocent blood upon herself. But when his son went to her with his father's letter, a servant of her's abused him, and plucked off his cap and threw it away, and put him out of the gate. Nevertheless the letter was delivered into her own hand, [but she shut out all pity and tenderness, and continued him in prison till death. So when his son came back to his father in prison, and told him as he lay on his dying-bed, that the countess denied his liberty, he only said, She hath been the cause of shedding much blood, but this will be the heaviest blood that ever she spilt; and soon after he died. Then friends having his body delivered to them to bury, as they carried it from the prison to Ormskirk, the parish wherein he had lived, they stuck up papers upon the crosses at Garstang, Preston, and other towns, through which they passed, with this inscription :

This is Oliver Atherton of Ormskirk parish, persecuted to death by the Countess of Derby for good conscience sake towards God and Christ, because he could not give her tithes, &c.

Setting forth at large the reasons of his refusing to pay tithes, the length of his imprisonment, the hardships he underwent, her hard-heartedness towards him, and the manner of his death. After his death, Richard Cubban, another of the said countess her prisoners for tithe, writ a

large letter to her, on behalf of himself and his other fellow prisoners at her suit, laying their innocence before her; and that it was not out of wilfulness, stubbornness, or covetousness, that they refused to pay her tithes, but purely in good conscience towards God and Christ; and letting her know that if she should be suffered to keep them there till they every one died there, as she had done their fellow-sufferer, Oliver Atherton, yet they could not yield to pay her. And therefore desired her to consider their case in a Christian spirit, and not bring their blood upon herself also. But she would not shew any pity or compassion towards them, who had now suffered hard imprisonment about two years and an half under her, but instead thereof she sent to the town of Garstang, and threatened to complain to the king and council, and bring them into trouble for suffering the paper concerning Oliver Atherton's death to be stuck upon their cross. The rage that she expressed, made the people take the more notice of it, and some of them said, the Quakers had given her a bone to pick. But she, that regarded not the life of an innocent sufferer for Christ, lived not long after herself; for that day three weeks that Oliver Atherton's body was carried through Ormskirk to be buried, she died, and her body was carried dead that day seven weeks through the same town to her burying place. And thus the Lord pursued the hard-hearted persecutor.

As for me I was kept to the assize; and then judge Turner and judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before judge Twisden on the 14th day of the month called March, in the latter end of the year 1663. When I was set up to the bar, I said, Peace be amongst you all. The judge looked upon me, and said, What, do you come into the court with your hat on! Upon which words the jailer taking it off, I said, The hat is not the honour that comes from God. Then said the judge to me, Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox? I said, I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement. Well, said he, will you swear or no? I answered, I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear, and so does the apostle James likewise; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge. I ask you again, said he, whether you will swear or no? I answered again, I am neither Turk, Jew, nor heathen, but a Christian, and should shew forth Christianity. And I asked him, if he did not know that Christians in the primitive times under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in queen Mary's days refused swearing,

because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it. I told him also, they had had experience enough, how many men had first sworn for the king and then against the king; but as for me, I had never taken an oath in all my life; and my allegiance did not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness, for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great prophet, who is the King of kings, who is the Saviour of the world, and the great judge of the whole world, he saith I must not swear; now, whether must I obey, Christ or thee? For it is in tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the commands of Christ, that I do not swear; and we have the word of a king for tender consciences. Then I asked the judge if he did own the king. Yes, said he, I do own the king. Why then, said I, dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably. Now if thou ownest the king, said I, why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion, seeing thou nor none else can charge me with unpeaceable living. Then he was moved, and looking angrily at me, said, Sirrah, will you swear. I told him, I was none of his sirrahs, I was a Christian; and for him, that was an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nick-names to prisoners, it did not become either his grey hairs or his office. Well, said he, I am a Christian too. Then do Christian's works, said I. Sirrah, said he, thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words. Then catching himself and looking aside, he said, Hark! I am using the word [sirrah] again, and so checked himself. I said, I spake to thee in love, for that language did not become thee, a judge; thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way. And I speak in love to thee too, said he. But, said I, love gives no nick-names. Then he roused himself up and said, I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox; thou speakest so loud thy voice drowns mine and the court's, I must call for three or four criers to drown thy voice; thou hast good lungs. I am a prisoner here, said I, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for his sake do I suffer, and for him do I stand this day; and if my voice were five times louder yet I should lift it up, and sound it out for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat, in obedience to Christ, who commands not to swear, before whose judgment-seat you must all be

brought, and must give an account. Well, said the judge, George Fox say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay? I replied, I say as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou? If I could take any oath at all, I should take this; for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasion, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who hath commanded his not to swear at all. Now if thou or any of you, or any of your ministers or priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his apostle after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear. I saw several priests there, but never an one of them offered to speak. Then said the judge, I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution; therefore tender him the oath of allegiance. 'If thou love the king,' said I, 'why dost thou break his word, and not keep his declarations and speeches, wherein he promised liberty to tender consciences. I am a man of a tender conscience, and in obedience to Christ's command I cannot swear. Then you will not swear, said the judge; take him away, jailer. I said, It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to his command I suffer, and so the Lord forgive you all. So the jailer took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

Upon the sixteenth day of the same month I was brought before judge Twisden again, and he was somewhat offended at my hat, but it being the last morning of the assize before he was to go out of town, and not many people there, he made the less of it. He asked me whether I would traverse, or stand mute, or submit; but he spake so fast, and in such haste, that it was hard to know what he said. However, I told him I desired I might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it. Then said he, take him away, I will have nothing to do with him, take him away. I said, Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice. Why, said he, have not I done you justice? I replied, That which thou hast done hath been against the command of Christ.' So I was taken away, and had to the jail again, and there kept prisoner till the next assizes.

Sometime before this assize Margaret Fell was sent prisoner to Lancaster jail by Flemming, Kirby, and Preston, justices, and at the assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was committed again to prison, to lie till the next assize.

Now justice Flemming being one of the fiercest and most violent justices in persecuting friends, and sending his honest neighbours to prison for religion's sake; and there being many friends at this time in Lancaster jail committed thither by him, and some having died in prison, we that were there then prisoners had it upon us to write to him as followeth:

' O Justice Flemming!

' Mercy and compassion, and love and kindness adorns and graces men and magistrates. Oh! dost thou not hear the cry of the widows, and the cry of the fatherless, who were made so through persecution! Were they not driven like sheep from constable to constable, as though they had been the greatest transgressors or malefactors in the land? Which grieved and tendered the hearts of many sober people to see how their innocent neighbours and countrymen (who were of a peaceable carriage, and honest in their lives and conversations amongst men) were used and served! One more is dead whom thou sentest to prison, having left five children, both fatherless and motherless. Now how canst thou do otherwise than take care of these fatherless infants, and also of the other's wife and family? Is it not thy place? Consider Job (c. 29th) how he was a father to the poor, he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless that had none to help; how he brake the jaws of the wicked and plucked the spoil out of his teeth. But oh! measure thy life and his, and take heed of the day of God's eternal judgment which will come, and the sentence and decree from Christ, when every man must give an account, and receive a reward according to his deeds; and then it will be said, Oh, where are the months that are past! Again, justice Flemming, consider, when John Stubbs was brought before thee, having a wife and four small children, and little to live on, but what they honestly got by their own diligence, as soon as he appeared, thou criedst out, Put the oath to that man. And when he confessed he was but a poor man, yet then thou hadst no regard; but cast away pity, not hearing what he would say: and now he is kept up in prison, because he could not swear and break the command of Christ and the apostle: it is to be hoped thou wilt take care for his family, that his children do not starve, and see that they do not want bread. Can this be allegiance to the king, to do that which Christ and his apostle say is evil, and brings into condemnation? And would not you have cast Christ and the apostle into prison, who com-

mand not to swear, if they had been in your days? Consider also thy poor neighbour William Wilson, who was known to all the parish and neighbours to be an industrious man, and careful to maintain his wife and children, but had little, but what he got with his hands in diligence and travels to supply himself: how should this wife maintain her children when thou hast cast her husband into prison, and thereby made him incapable of working for them? Therefore it may be expected, thou wilt have a care of his wife and children, and see they do not want; for how should they live, having no other way to be sustained, but by the little that he got? Surely, the noise of this is in the very markets, and the death of thy two neighbours, and the cry of the widows, and the cry of the fatherless is heard; and all those fatherless and those widows are made so for righteousness sake. For might not John Stubbs and William Wilson have had their liberty still if they would have sworn, though they had been such as go after mountebanks and stage-plays, or run a hunting? O consider, for the Lord's mind is otherwise, for he is tender; and the king hath declared his mind to be, that there should be no cruelty inflicted upon his peaceable subjects. Besides, several poor honest people were fined, who had need to have something given them; and it had been more honourable to have given them something than to fine them and send them to prison; some of whom live upon the charity of other people. Now what honour or grace can it be to thee, to cast thy poor neighbours into prison who be peaceable, seeing thou knowest these people cannot do that which thou requirest of them, if it were to save their lives, or all that they have? because in tenderness they cannot take any oath, thou makest that a snare to them. What, thinkest thou, do the people say concerning this? We know (say they) the Quakers' principle that keep to yea and nay, but we see others swear and forswear; for many of you have sworn first one way and then another. So we leave it to the Spirit of God in thy conscience, justice Flemming, who was so eager for the taking of George Fox, and so offended with them that had not taken him, and now hast fallen upon thy poor neighbours. But oh! where is thy pity for their poor fatherless children and motherless infants? O take heed of Herod's hard-heartedness and casting away all pity! Esau did so, not Jacob. Here is also Thomas Walters of Bolton cast into prison, and the oath imposed on him through thee, and for denying to swear at all, in obedience to Christ's command, he is continued in prison; who hath five small

children and his wife near down-lying. Surely thou should take care for them also, and see that his wife and small children do not want; who are as fatherless, and she as a widow through thee. Dost thou not hear in thy ears the cry of the fatherless, and the cry of the widows, and the blood of the innocent speak, who through thee have been persecuted to prison and now dead? Oh! heavy sentence at the day of judgment! How wilt thou answer when thou and thy works come to be judged, when thou shalt be brought before the judgment-seat and bar of the Almighty, who in thy prosperity hast made widows and fatherless for righteousness sake, and for tenderness of conscience towards God? The Lord knows and sees it! O man! consider in thy life-time, how thou hast stained thyself with the blood of the innocent! When thou hadst power, and mightest have done good amongst thy peaceable neighbours, thou wouldest not, but usedest thy power not to a good intent, but contrary to the Lord's mind and to the king's. The king's favour and his mercy and clemency to sober people and to tender consciences, hath been manifested by declarations and proclamations, which thou hast abused and slighted by persecuting his peaceable subjects. For at London and in other parts the Quakers' meetings are peaceable; and if thou look but as far as Yorkshire, where the plot hath been, friends' innocency hath cleared itself in the hearts of sober justices, and for you here to fall upon your peaceable neighbours and people, and to be rigorous and violent against them, that are tender, godly and righteous, it is no honour to you. How many drunkards, and swearers, and fighters, and such as are subject to vice, have you caused to be brought before you to your courts? It were more honourable for you to look after such; for the law was not made for the righteous, but for sinners and transgressors. Therefore consider, and be humbled for these things, for the Lord may do to thee, as thou hast done to others; and thou dost not know how soon there may be a cry in thy own family, as the cry is amongst thy neighbours, of the fatherless and widows that are made so through thee. But the Quakers can and do say, the Lord forgive thee, and lay not these things to thy charge, if it be his will.'

Besides this, which went in the name of many, I sent him also a line subscribed by myself only, and directed—

To Daniel Flemming.

‘ Friend,

‘ Thou hast imprisoned the servants of the Lord, without the breach of any law ; therefore take heed what thou dost, (for in the light of the Lord God thou art seen) lest the hand of the Lord be turned against thee !’

G. F.

It was not long after this ere Flemming’s wife died, and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children.

When I was prisoner at Lancaster, there was prisoner also one major Wiggan, a baptist preacher. He boasted much beforehand what he would say at the assize, if the oath should be put to him, and that he would refuse to swear : but when the assize came and the oath was tendered him, he desired time to consider of it ; and that being granted him till the next assize, he got leave to go to London before the assize came again, and came no more back, but staid at London till the plague brake forth, and there both he and his wife were cut off. He was a very wicked man, and the judgments of God came upon him, for he had published a very wicked book against friends, full of lies and blasphemies, the occasion of which was this : whilst he was in Lancaster castle he challenged friends to have a dispute with them, whereupon I got leave of the jailer to go up to them, and entering into discourse with him, he affirmed, that some men never had the Spirit of God, and that the true light which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world is natural. For proof of his assertion he instanced Balaam, affirming, that Balaam had not the Spirit of God : I affirmed and proved, that Balaam had the Spirit of God, and that wicked men have the Spirit of God, else how could they quench it, and vex it, and grieve it, and resist the Holy Ghost like the stiff-necked Jews ? To his second affirmation I answered, that the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was the life in the word, and that was divine and eternal, and not natural ; and he might as well say that the word was natural, as that the life in the word was natural ; and wicked men were enlightened by this light, else how could they hate it ? Now it is expressly said, that they did hate it : and the reason given why they did hate it, was, because their deeds were evil, and they would not come to it, because it reproved them, and that must needs be in them that reproved them. Besides, that light could not be the scriptures of the New

Testament, for it was testified of before any part of the New Testament was written; so it must be the divine light which is the life in Christ the word, before scriptures were; and the grace of God, which brought salvation, had appeared unto all men, and taught the saints; but they that turned it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against the Spirit of Grace were the wicked. Again, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, which leads the disciples of Christ into all truth, the same should reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, and of their unbelief; so the wicked world had it to reprove them, and the true disciples and learners of Christ, that believed in the light as Christ commands, they had it to lead them. But the world that did not believe in the light, though they were lighted, but hated the light which they should have believed in, and loved the darkness rather than it, this world had a righteousness and a judgment, which the Holy Ghost reprov'd them for as well as for their unbelief. So having proved that the good and the bad were enlightened, and that the grace of God had appeared unto them all, and that all had the Spirit of God, else they could not vex and grieve it, I told major Wiggan the least babe there might see him; and presently stood up one Richard Cubham, and proved him an anti-christ and a deceiver by scripture. Then the jailer had me away to my prison again. And afterwards Wiggan wrote a book of this dispute, and put in abundance of abominable lies; but his book was soon answered in print, and he himself not long after was cut off as afore is said.

This Wiggan was poor, and while he was a prisoner at Lancaster he sent into the country, and got money gathered for relief of the poor people of God in prison, and many people gave freely, thinking it had been for us, when as indeed it was for himself. But when we heard of it, we laid it upon him, and writ also into the country, that friends might let the people know the truth of the matter, that it was not our manner to have collections made for us; and that those collections were only for Wiggan and another, a drunken preacher of his society, who would be so drunk that once he lost his breeches.

After this it came upon me to write a paper to the judges and other magistrates, concerning their giving evil words and nicknames to such as were brought before them; and that which I writ was after this manner, and thus directed:

To all you that be judges, or other officers whatsoever, in the whole world, who profess yourselves to be Christians.

‘ Friends,

‘ Herein and by reading the scriptures, ye may see both your own words and carriage, and the words, carriage, and practice of both Jews and Heathens, and of the great King of kings, the great Lawgiver and Judge of the whole world. First, for the words and carriage of the Jews, when such as were worthy of death were brought before such as were rulers amongst them. When Achan had taken the Babylonish garment, and the two hundred shekels of silver, and the wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, and Joshua, who was then judge of Israel, had by the lot found him out, he did not say unto him, Sirrah, nor, you rascal, knave, rogue, as some, that are called Christian magistrates, are too apt to do. But Joshua said unto Achan, My son, (mark his clean language and savoury expression and gracious words,) “My son,” said he, “give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me.” Then Achan confessed, that he had sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus he had done. And then Joshua the judge said, “Why hast thou troubled Israel? The Lord shall trouble thee this day.” And they stoned him and his with stones, and burnt his goods with fire. But there was no unsavoury word given to him that we read of, though he was worthy of death. Josh. vii.

‘ So when the man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day, was taken and brought before Moses, the judge in Israel, and put in ward until the mind of the Lord was known concerning him, we read not of any reviling language given him, but the Lord said to Moses, and Moses to the people, “The man shall surely be put to death,” Numb. xv. 35.

‘ So likewise in the rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, where Moses called them to trial, he did not sirrah them or miscall them, but said to Corah and the rest, Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi, Numb. xvi. 8. And when he gave the sentence against them, he said, If these men die the common death of all men, &c. He did not say, If these rascals or knaves—as many that profess themselves Christians, will now do.

‘ When Elihu spake to Job, who was a judge, and to his friends, and said, “Let me not, I pray you, accept any

man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles: in so doing my Maker would soon take me away," Job xxxii. Job did not say, Sirrah, hold thy tongue, nor give him any unsavoury expression. Then for the words of David and Solomon, and other kings and officers, see in the books of the Kings and Chronicles the savoury language that they gave to them that were brought before them: nay, though Shimei cursed David the king, yet neither did David then, or afterward, nor Solomon, when he caused him to be put to death, give him any reproachful language, or so much as call him sirrah; 2 Sam. xvi. and 1 Kings ii.

'Read the prophecies of Isaiah and Micha, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the rest of the prophets, who prophesied to several peoples, and against rulers, kings, and magistrates, yet where can it be found, that they had any bad language given them, as sirrah, or the like, by any ruler either of the Jews or heathens? Nay, though Jeremiah was cast into the prison, and into the dungeon, yet there was no such word as sirrah, or knave given to him. Jer. xxxvii.

'Then for the words and carriage of the heathens: when Abraham was brought before Abimelech, who was a king, he gave Abraham no unsavoury expressions, Gen. xx. And when Isaac came before Abimelech, he gave him no taunting language neither, Gen. xxvi. When Joseph was cast into prison, and that in Egypt, we do not read that he had any railing language given him, Gen. xxxix. Neither did Pharaoh, when Moses and Aaron went before him, give them bad language, as sirrah, knave, or the like.

'When Nebuchadnezzar sentenced the three children to the fiery furnace, there was no such language given them as sirrah, knave, rascal; but called them by the names they were known by, Dan. iii. And when Daniel was brought before Darius, and sentenced to be cast into the lion's den, he had no ill names given him as many give now, who call those heathen rulers, but themselves Christians.

'If ye look into the New Testament, there in the parable of the wedding supper, the king, that came to view his guests, did not say unto him that was found without a wedding-garment, Sirrah, how camest thou in hither? But, "Friend, how camest thou in hither? &c." though he was one that was to be bound hand and foot, and cast into utter darkness, Matt. xxii. Nay, when Judas had betrayed his master, Christ Jesus the Lord of life, and had sold him to the priests, Christ did not call him sirrah, when he came to apprehend him, but friend: Matt. xxvi. 50. Stephen in his

examination, sentence, and death, had no such reproachful word given him, as sirrah, or knave, Acts vi. and vii. chap. When the apostles Peter and John were brought before the high priest and rulers of the Jews, and commanded not to preach in the name of Jesus, Acts iv. they were not called sirrah, or knaves, nor had any such ill names given them. And when Paul and Silas were cast into prison by the magistrates, there was no such word given them in their examination nor in their sentence, Acts xvi. They called them men, not rogues, sirrahs, nor knaves. And when the magistrates had done contrary to law, they feared; so ye may see how short of this example many are, that call themselves Christian rulers, who are not afraid to cast innocent people into prison, and give them ill names besides, below both Jews and heathens.

‘ When the uproar was at Ephesus about Diana’s shrine, Demetrius, who bore great sway among the craftsmen, did not call Paul sirrah, but called him by his right name Paul, Acts xix. And when Paul was brought prisoner before Ananias and the council of the Jews, and told them he had lived in all good conscience towards God until that day, though they (who professed the Scriptures but lived out of the life of them) could not abide to hear of living in a good conscience (as professors of the Scriptures now, that live not in the life, cannot abide to hear of living in a good conscience now a days): but Ananias caused Paul to be smitten on the mouth, yet he did not call him knave nor sirrah, Acts xxiii. The apostate Jews indeed (who though they professed Scripture were out of the life thereof, and had rejected Christ) in their accusing Paul before the Roman magistrates, did once call him a pestilent fellow, Acts xxiv. as the accusing professors who live out of the life will sometimes call us now. But Felix gave Paul no such language; neither did Festus nor king Agrippa in all their examinations of him, give Paul any such words as sirrah, rascal, knave, or the like, but heard him patiently. So now Christians may see through all the Scriptures, that when any persons were brought before rulers, kings, or magistrates, whether Jews or heathen, they did not use to call them evil names, as sirrah, rascal, knave, and the like, they had no such foul-mouthed language in their courts, nor did they use to say to them, Sirrah, put off your hat. Now, ye that profess Christianity, and say the Scripture is your rule, may see, that more corrupt words proceed out of your mouths than either out of the Jews or heathens, if ye will try your practice by the Scriptures. And doth not the apostle tell you, that no corrupt commu-

nication should proceed out of your mouths, and that your words should be gracious? Now I query, where and whence ye, that call yourselves Christians, have got all these bad words and names, seeing neither God, nor Christ, nor the prophets, nor the judges, nor kings, nor rulers, ever gave any such names, so far as appears by Scripture, either amongst the heathens, Jews, or Christians.' G. F.

Before the next assizes came, there was a quarter-sessions holden at Lancaster by the justices, to which though we were not brought, yet I put friends upon drawing up an account of their sufferings, and laying them before the justices in their open sessions. For friends had suffered deeply by fines and distresses, the bailiffs and officers making great havoc and spoil of their goods; but no redress was made.

And because some evil-minded magistrates would be telling us sometimes of the late plot in the North, we gave forth the following paper to stop their mouths, and to clear truth and friends therefrom. Which was as followeth:

A Testimony from us, the people of God, whom the world call Quakers, to all the magistrates and officers of what sort soever, from the highest to the lowest.

'We are peaceable, and seek the peace, and good, and welfare of all men and women upon the earth, as in our lives and peaceable carriages is manifested; and we desire the eternal good and welfare of all, and their souls' everlasting peace. We are heirs of the blessing before the curse was, and of the power of God before the devil was, and before the fall of man. We are heirs of the gospel of peace, which is the power of God, and we are heirs of Christ, who have inherited him and his everlasting kingdom, and do possess the power of an endless life. Knowing this our portion and inheritance, this is to take off all jealousies out of your minds, and out of the minds of all people concerning us, that all plots and conspiracies, plotters and conspirators against the king, and all aiders and assisters thereunto we always did and do utterly deny, to be any of us, or to be of the fellowship of the gospel, or to be of Christ's kingdom, or to be his servants. For Christ said his kingdom was not of this world, if it were his servants would fight. And therefore he bid Peter put up his sword, for, said he, he that taketh the sword, shall perish by the sword. Here is the faith and patience of the saints, to bear and suffer all things, knowing (as we know) that

vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it to them that hurt his people, and that do wrong to the innocent. Therefore cannot we avenge, but suffer for his name's sake. And we do know that the Lord will judge the world in righteousness, according to their deeds, and that, when every one shall give an account to him of the deeds done in the body, then will the Lord give every man according to his works, whether they be good or whether they be evil. Christ saith, he came not to destroy men's lives; and when his disciples would have had fire to come down from heaven, to have consumed them that did not receive him, he told them they knew not what spirit they were of, that would have men's lives destroyed, and therefore he rebuked them and told them, that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Now we are of Christ's mind, who is the great prophet, whom all ought to hear in all things, who saith to his, "if they strike thee on one cheek turn the other, and render to no one evil for evil." This doctrine of his have we learned, and do not only confess him in words, but follow his doctrine; and therefore have and do we suffer all manner of reproaches, scandals, and slanders, and spoiling of goods, buffetings and whippings, stripes and imprisonments for these many years; and can say, the Lord forgive them that have thus served us, and lay not these things to their charge. And we know that the Jews' outward sword, by which they cut down the heathen outwardly, was a type of the inward sword of the spirit, which cuts down the inward heathen, the raging nature in people. And the blood of bulls, lambs, rams, and other offerings, and that priesthood that offered them, together with other things in the law, were types of Christ, the one offering, and of his blood, who is the everlasting priest and covenant, Christ, our life and way to God, and who is the great prophet and shepherd, that looks to his flock, and the head of his church, and the great bishop of our souls, whom we witness come, and he doth oversee and keep his flock. For in Adam in the fall we know the striving, quarrelling, unpeaceable spirits are in the enmity one with another, and not in peace; but in Christ Jesus the second Adam, that never fell, is peace, rest, and life. And the doctrine of Christ who never sinned, is to love one another, and who be in this doctrine hurt no man, in which we are, in Christ, who is life. Therefore it is well for you to distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile, between them that fear God and serve him, and them that do not, and to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, and between him that is holy

and pure, and the ungodly and prophane, for they that do not so, bring troubles, burdens, and sorrows upon themselves. And this we write in love to your souls, that ye may consider these things; for they that hate enemies and hate one another, we cannot say they are of God, nor in Christ's doctrine, but are opposers of it. And such as wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons, are gone into the flesh, out of the spirit; they are not in our fellowship in the spirit, in which is the bond of peace; neither are they of us, nor have we unity with them in their fleshly state, and with their carnal weapons; for our unity and fellowship stands in the gospel, which is the power of God before the devil was, the liar, and the murderer, the man-slayer and the envious man. Now Christ's mind and his doctrine being to save men's lives, we, who are of Christ's mind, are out of, and above these things. And our desire is, that in the fear of the Lord ye may all live, that in that ye may all receive God's wisdom, by which all things were created, that by it all may be ordered to God's glory.

'This is from them that love all your souls, and seek your eternal good.'

Being now a prisoner in Lancaster castle, a deep sense came upon me of a day of sore trial and exercise that was come and coming upon all that had been in high profession of religion: and I was moved to give forth the following paper as a warning unto such:

'Now is the day that every one's faith and love to God and Christ will be tried, and who are redeemed out of the earth, and who are in the earth will be manifested; and who is their master they serve, and whether they will run to the mountains to cover them. Now will it appear who are the stony ground, who are the thorny ground, and who are the highway-ground, in whom the fowls of the air take away the seed, and the thorns and cares of the world choke, and the heat of persecution scorches and burns up your green blade; for the day trieth all things. Therefore let not such as forsake truth, for saving the earth, say that your brother priest only serveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, but his own belly, and mindeth earthly things, for such themselves also do the same, and do hug and embrace self, and not the Lord. Now it will be made manifest who is every ones God, and Christ, and Saviour, and their love will be manifest, whether it be of the world or the love of God; for if it be the love of the world it is enmity, and the

enmity will manifest itself what it is, and the day will try every spirit and his fruits. Therefore, all my dear friends, in the everlasting seed of God live, that is over all the house of Adam and his works in the fall; and so dwelling in the seed, Christ that never fell, in him you have all virtue, and life, and peace, and through him ye will overcome all that is in the fall.'

G. F.

I writ also another short epistle to friends, to warn them to keep out of that spirit that wrought in John Perrot and his company against the truth.

'Dear friends,

'Dwell in the love of God and in his righteousness, that will preserve you above all changeable spirits, that be foul and unclean, and that dwell not in the truth but in quarrels. Avoid such, and keep your habitations in the truth, and dwell in the truth, and in the word of God, by which ye are reconciled to God. And keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, that never fell, and then ye will see over all the gatherings of Adam's sons and daughters, you being met in the life over them all, in which is your unity and peace, and fellowship with God and one with another, in the life, in which ye may enjoy God's presence among you. So remember me to all friends in the everlasting seed of God. And all they that are gotten into fellowship in outward things, their fellowship will corrupt, and rot, and wither away; therefore live in the gospel, the power of God, which power of God the gospel was, before the devil was. And this fellowship in the gospel, the power of God, is a mystery to all the fellowships of the world. So look over all outward sufferings, and look at the Lord, and the Lamb, who is the first and last, the amen; in whom farewell.'

G. F.

In the sixth month the assizes were held again at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came that circuit again; but judge Turner then sate on the crown bench, and so I was brought before him. But before I was called to the bar, I was put among the murderers and felons for about the space of two hours, the people, the justices, and the judge also gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they called me to the bar, and impanelled a jury, and then the judge asked the justices whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions; and they said they had: then he bid give them the book, that they might swear they had tendered me the oath ac-

cording to the indictment. Some of the justices refused to be sworn, but the judge said he would have it done, to take away all occasion of exception. Now when the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn that they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment, then the judge asked me whether I had not refused the oath at the last assizes; I said I never took oath in my life, and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, "Swear not at all." The judge seemed not to take notice of my answer, but asked me whether or no I had not refused to take the oath at the last assize: I said, the words that I then spake to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest, or teacher, that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear. The judge said he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to enquire whether I had refused to take the oath or no. I told him those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the king, and owning the pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny. Well, said he, you say well in that, but did you deny to take the oath; what say you? What wouldest thou have me to say, said I; for I have told thee before what I did say. Then he asked me if I would have these men to swear that I had taken the oath; I asked him if he would have those men to swear that I had refused the oath? at which the court burst out into laughter. I was grieved to see so much lightness in a court, where such solemn matters were handled, and thereupon asked them if this court was a play-house; where is gravity and sobriety, said I, for this behaviour doth not become you. Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge I had something to speak to it (for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it). He told me he would hear me afterward, any reasons that I could allege, why he should not give judgment. Then I spake to the jury and told them, that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it. The judge said I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them, and he told them I had denied to take the oath at the last assizes; and, said he, I can tender the oath to any man now, and premunire him for not taking it: and he said, they must bring me in guilty, seeing I refused to take the oath. Then said I, what do ye do with a form: ye may throw away your form then. And I told the jury it lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before his judgment-seat. Then the judge spake again to the

jury; and I bid him do me justice. So the jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them that both the justices and they too had forsworn themselves, and therefore they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before. Oh the envy, and rage, and malice that was there against me, and the lightness; but the Lord confounded them, and they were wonderfully stopped. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had a great deal of good service amongst them; and then the court brake up near the second hour.

In the afternoon we were brought up again to have sentence passed upon us; and Margaret Fell desired, that sentence might be deferred till the next morning. I desired nothing, but law and justice at his hands, for the thieves had mercy; only I desired the judge to send some to see my prison, which was so bad they would put no creature they had in it; and I told him that colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, said I should be locked up and no flesh alive should come to me. The judge shook his head, and said, when the sentence was given he would leave me to the favour of the jailer. Now most of the gentry of the country were gathered together expecting to hear the sentence, and the noise among the people was that I should be transported. But they were all crossed at that time; for the sentence being deferred till next morning, I was had back as I came to prison again. Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with colonel Kirby, went up to see it; but when they came to it they durst hardly go into it, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain; and some that came up said, sure it was a jakes-house. When colonel Kirby saw it, and heard what others said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could, and said I should be removed from that place ere it was long to some more convenient place.

Next day towards the eleventh hour we were called forth again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell being called first to the bar, she had some counsels to plead, who found many errors in her indictment, whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, she was set by. Then the judge asked what they could say to mine? Now I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak to it myself, and indeed though Margaret had some that pleaded for her, yet she spake as much herself as she would. But before I came to the bar I was moved in my spirit to pray, that God would confound their wickedness and envy, and set his truth over all, and exalt his seed.

And the Lord heard and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me; and though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

Now, I having put by others from pleading for me, the judge asked me what I had to say, why he should not pass sentence upon me; I told him I was no lawyer, but I had much to say, if he would have patience to hear. At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, Come, what have you to say? he can say nothing. Yes, said I, I have much to say, have but the patience to hear me! Then I asked him, whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes? he said, to the subjects of this realm. Then said I, look at the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word subject; so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath. Then they looked the statute and the indictment, and saw that it was as I said, and the judge confessed it was an error. I told him, I had something else to stop his judgment; and I desired him to look, what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to me at the sessions there? They looked, and said it was the eleventh day of January. What day of the week was that session held on, said I; on a Tuesday, said they. Then said I, look your almanacks, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January so called? So they looked, and found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the sessions was on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month. Look ye now, said I, ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon, and yet ye see there was no session held in Lancaster that day. Then the judge, to have covered the matter, asked whether the sessions did not begin on the eleventh? But some in the court answered no, the session held but one day and that was the twelfth; then the judge said, this was a great mistake, and an error. Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, and were ready to have gone off the bench, and stamped and said, who hath done this? somebody hath done it on purpose, and a great heat was amongst them. Then said I, are not the justices here that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all, said I,

I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me. Then I asked, in what year of the king the last assize here was holden, which was in the month called March last : and the judge said it was in the sixteenth year of the king. But said I, the indictment says it was in the fifteenth year ; and they looked and found it so. This also was acknowledged to be another error : but then they were all in a fret again, both judge and justices, and could not tell what to say ; for the judge had sworn the officers of the court, that the oath was tendered to me at the assize mentioned in the indictment. Now, said I, is not the court here forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the assize holden here in the fifteenth year of the king, when as it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a whole year false ? The judge bid them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was so or no : and they looked, and found it was not so. I told the judge I had more yet to offer to stop sentence ; and I asked him, whether all the oath ought to be put into the indictment or no ? yes, said he, it ought to be all put in. Then said I, compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayest see these words, viz. [or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his see] left out of the indictment, which is a principal part of the oath, and in another place the words [heirs and successors] are left out ; the judge did acknowledge these also to be great errors. But, said I, I have not yet done, I have yet something further to allege. Nay, said the judge, I have enough, you need say no more. If, said I, thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands, for I dont look for mercy. You must have justice, said he, and you shall have law. Then I asked, am I at liberty and free from all that ever hath been done against me in this matter ? Yes, said the judge, you are free from all that hath been done against you. But then, starting up in a rage, he said, I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again. I told him he had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false swearing, both in the justices and the jury ; for I saw before mine eyes, that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves. The judge asked me if I would take the oath ? I bid him do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while ; for what had I been imprisoned so long for ; and I told him I ought to be set at liberty. You are at liberty, said he, but I will put the oath to you again. Then I turned me about and said, All people take notice, this is a snare, for I ought to be set free from the jailer and from

this court. But the judge cried, Give him the book; and the sheriff and the justices cried, Give him the book. Then the power of darkness rose up in them like a mountain, and a clerk lift up a book to me. I stood still and said, if it be a bible give it me into my hand. Yes, yes, said the judge and justices, give it him into his hand. So I took it and looked in it and said, I see it is a bible, I am glad of it. Now he had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by (for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would not dismiss them, though they desired it; but told them he could not dismiss them yet, for he should have business for them, and therefore they must attend, and be ready when they were called. And when he said so I felt his intent, that if I was freed he would come on again.) So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again, for he saw that I saw him. Nevertheless hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by; and when it was read, he asked me whether I would take the oath or no? Then said I, ye have given me a book here to kiss and to swear on, and this book which ye have given me to kiss, says, Kiss the Son; and the Son says in this book, Swear not at all; and so says also the apostle James. Now, said I, I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me; how chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me? Why dont ye imprison the book? Now as I was speaking this to them, and held up the bible open in my hand, to shew them the place in the book where Christ forbid swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand again; and the judge said, Nay, but we will imprison George Fox. Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word, that they gave me a book to swear on, that commanded me not to swear at all, and that the bible was at liberty, and I in prison for doing as the bible said. Now when the judge still urged me to swear, I told him I never took oath, covenant nor engagement in my life, but my yea or nay was more binding to me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath; and how they had sworn one way and then another; and how the justices and court had forsworn themselves now? And I told him I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. But, said I, if any of

you can convince me, that after Christ and the apostle had commanded not to swear, they did alter that command and commanded Christians to swear, then ye shall see I will swear. And there being many priests by, I said if ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it; but not one of the priests made any answer. O, said the judge, all the world cannot convince you. No, said I, how is it like the world should convince me? for the whole world lies in wickedness; but bring out your spiritual men (as ye call them) to convince me. Then the sheriff said, and the judge said the same, that the angel swore in the Revelations. I replied, when God bringeth in his first-begotten Son into the world, he saith, Let all the angels of God worship him; and He saith, swear not at all. Nay, said the judge, I will not dispute. Then I spake to the jury, telling them it was for Christ's sake that I could not swear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, for before his judgment-seat they must all be brought. And I told them, that as for plots and persecution for religion and popery, I do deny them in my heart, for I am a Christian, and shall shew forth Christianity amongst you this day, and it is for Christ's doctrine I stand. More words I had both with the judge and jury before the jailer took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves a pretty while, where I stood with my hat on till at length the jailer took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment against me for not taking the oath, I was called to the bar; and the judge asked me what I would say for myself: I bid them read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, (and as he read the judge said, take heed it be not false again,) but he read it in such a manner, that I could hardly understand what he read. But when he had done, the judge asked me what I said to the indictment? I told him, at once hearing so large a writing read, and that at such a distance that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it; but if he would let me have a copy of it, and give me time to consider of it, I would answer it. This put them to a little stand; but after a while the judge asked me what time I would have? I said, till the next assize. But, said he, what plea will ye now make, are you guilty, or not guilty? I said, I am not guilty at all of denying swearing obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as jesuitical plots and foreign

powers, I utterly deny them in my heart; and if I could take any oath I should take that, but I never took any oath in all my life. The judge said I said well; but, said he, the king is sworn, the parliament is sworn, I am sworn, and the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths. I told him, they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and he had seen how the justices and jury had sworn wrong the other day; and if he had read in the Book of Martyrs how many of the martyrs had refused to swear, both within the time of the ten persecutions, and in bishop Bonner's days, he might see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command, was no new thing. Then he said, he wished the laws were otherwise. I said, Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay; and if we transgress our yea and our nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely; and this I told him we had offered to the king, and the king said it was reasonable.

So after some further discourse had passed, they committed me to prison again, there to lie till the next assize; and colonel Kirby gave order to the jailer to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit, he said, to be discoursed with by men. Then was I put up into a smoky tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes the smoke would be so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides it rained in upon my bed, and many times when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt would be as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me, while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it, the wind being high and fierce, would blow it out again. In this manner did I lie all that long cold winter till the next assize; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much benumbed.

The assize began on the 16th day of the month called March, 1664. And the same judges, Twisden and Turner, coming that circuit again, judge Twisden sate this time on the crown-bench, and before him I was brought. Now I had informed myself again of the errors that were in this indictment also; for though at the assize before, judge

Turner had said to the officers in court, Pray see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word subject be in, and that the day of the month and year of the king be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country; yet there were many errors, and those great ones, in this indictment, as well as in the former. And surely the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch, that although after the indictment was drawn at the former assize, the judge examined it himself and tried it with the clerks, yet the word subject was left out of this indictment also, and the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out, yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well. And when I was set to the bar and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me, first, whether I had any objection to make against any of the jury. I told him I knew none of them. Then having sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the court to prove that the oath was tendered to me at the last assizes, according to the indictment. Come, come, said the judge, it was not done in a corner. Then he asked me what I had said to it, or whether I had taken the oath at the last assize. I told him what I had said, viz. that the book they gave me to swear on, saith, swear not at all; and I repeated more of what I had formerly said to them as it now came to my remembrance. Whereupon the judge said, I will not dispute with you but in point of law. Then, said I, I have something to speak to the jury concerning the indictment. He told me I must not speak to the jury, but if I had any thing to say I must speak to him. Then I asked him whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes? He replied, to the subjects of this realm, for I will speak nothing to you, said he, but in point of law. Then, said I, look the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word subject is left out of this indictment also. And therefore seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the court is to take no notice of this indictment. I had no sooner spoke thus, but the judge cried, Take him away, jailer, take him away; so I was presently hurried away. And the jailer and people looked when I should be called for again, but I was never brought forth to the court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in

the indictment. But after I was gone, the judge asked the jury if they were agreed. And they said, yes, and found for the king against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any sentence given against me that I could hear of. For I heard that when they had looked more narrowly into the indictment, they saw and were sensible themselves that the indictment was not good; and the judge having sworn the officers of the court that the oath was tendered me at the assize before, such a day, according as was set in the indictment, and that proving to be the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the court forsworn men again, if the judge would have suffered me to go on to plead to the indictment; which was thought to be the reason why he hurried me away so soon. The judge had passed sentence of premunire upon Margaret Fell before I was brought before him; and it seems when I was hurried away so, they recorded me as a premunired person, though I was never brought to hear the sentence, nor knew of it; which was very illegal. For they ought to have not only had me present to hear the sentence given, but also to have asked me first, what I could say why sentence should not be given against me; but they knew I had so much to say that they could not give sentence if they heard it.

While I was a prisoner in Lancaster-castle, there was a great noise and talk of the Turk's overspreading Christendom, and great fears entered many. But one day as I was walking in my prison chamber, I saw the Lord's power turn against him, and that he was turning back again. And I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his over-running Christendom, and within a month after the news-books came down, wherein it was mentioned that they had given him a defeat.

Another time as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on a fire. Not long after the wars brake out with Holland, and the sickness brake forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

Now by reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was grown very weak of body; but the Lord's power was over all, and supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for him, and for his truth and people, as the place would admit. For while I was in Lancaster-prison, I answered several books, as the Mass,

and the Common-prayer, and the Directory, and the Church-Faith, which are the four chief religions that are got up since the apostles' days. And there being several friends in prison at Lancaster and other prisons for not paying tithes, I was moved to give forth the following lines to the world concerning tithes :

' In the time of the law, they that did not bring their tithes into the store-house, they robbed God, and then there was not meat in their house ; therefore the Lord commanded them to bring them into his house, that there might be meat in the store-house, which was to fill the fatherless, stranger, and widow. But these priests, who are counterfeits, who take people's tithes now by a law, are from the beast ; and if any will not pay them, they prison them, or make them pay treble. So these rob the poor people, and rob the fatherless, and the stranger, and the widow is not filled ; so their cry is gone up to heaven against these. And many are made almost beggars by these oppressing priests, their cattle and their corn being taken away from them, and they cast into prison. Others are sued at the law by these priests, and have treble damage taken from them, and yet such priests are cried up to be ministers of the gospel. Though when the unchangeable priest was come, the priesthood that was changeable, was denied, as we now deny these. But if any be moved now to cry against them, they are stocked, or beat, or imprisoned, as there are many now in prison at Lancaster, and in other places, by a national law ; the like whereof was never done by the law of God, which was delivered to Moses. For we do not read that under Moses his law any suffered imprisonment, or spoiling of their goods for not paying tithes, or was to pay treble damage. Surely, surely, the cry for vengeance will be heard, which arises from the oppressed souls that lie under the altar. And there are many which be prisoners at Kendall, because they cannot pay tithes, as captain Ward, and Thomas Robertson, and the widow Garland, who hath many small children, and these suffer because they cannot pay tithes. Others there be in Kendall-prison, who were moved of the Lord to speak to the priests, whereof one was moved to go in sack-cloth, and of late with ashes upon her head. And others have been moved to go in sack-cloth as a lamentation for the miserable estate of this nation, seeing so much crying up of the preaching of the gospel, and yet so much strife, debate, and oaths, and dissension among people ; but where the gospel is received indeed, strife and contention

are ended, and oppression is taken off. But oh ! the land mourns, because of the oppression of them called ministers ! And though the cry of the oppressed hath not entered into the ears of the magistrates ; yet is the cry of the poor oppressed people of God entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, who now will be avenged of all his adversaries. And all you unjust law-givers, and unjust judges, to that in all your consciences I speak, to be cleared when ye are judged by the just Judge of heaven and earth, whose terror is gone out, and is gone forth against all the ungodly, and all the oppressors of God's people whatsoever, whether ye will hear or forbear.'

G. F.

After the assize at Lancaster was over, colonel Kirby and some others of the justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster, (for I had gauled them sore at my trials there) and they laboured much to get me removed from thence to some remote place. Colonel Kirby threatened that I should be sent far enough, and sometimes he said I should be sent beyond the seas. So about six weeks after the assizes they got an order from the king and council to remove me from Lancaster, and with it they brought a letter from the earl of Anglesea, wherein was written, that if those things were found true against me, which I was charged withal, I deserved no clemency nor mercy ; and yet the greatest matter they had against me was, because I could not disobey the command of Christ and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff, and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I could hardly go or stand. They had me down into the jailer's house, where was William Kirby, a justice, and several others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them I would have none of their wine. Then they cried, Bring out the horses. I desired them first to shew me their order, or a copy of it, if they intended to remove me ; but they would shew me none but their swords. Then I told them, there was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I premunired that I knew of, and therefore I was not made the king's prisoner, but was the sheriff's ; for they and all the country knew that I was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to shew forth the errors that were in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one assize to another, to the end

they might try me. But they all knew there was no sentence of premunire passed upon me; and therefore I not being the king's prisoner but the sheriff's, did desire to see their order. Instead of shewing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me up upon one of the sheriff's horses. And when I was on horseback in the street, the town's people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity, from them. So they hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, and I was so very weak that I was hardly able to sit on horseback; and my cloathes smelt so of smoke that they were loathsome to myself. And the wicked jailer, one Hunter, a young fellow, would come behind and give the horse a lash with his whip, and make him skip and leap, that I, being weak, had much ado to sit him; and then he would come and look me in the face, and say, How do you, Mr. Fox? I told him, it was not civil in him to do so; but the Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Bentham in Yorkshire there met us many troopers, and a marshall, and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to stare at me. I being very weak and weary, desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted me; for they that brought me thither gave their order to the marshall, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me. When they had staid there awhile they pressed horses, and raised the bailiff of the hundred, and the constables, and others, and had me to Giggleswick that night, but an exceeding weak man I was. There they raised the constables with their clog shoes, who sate drinking all night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest. The next day we came to a market town, where several friends came to see me, and Robert Widders and divers friends came to me upon the road. The next day I asked the soldiers whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent; some of them said beyond sea, others said to Tyne-mouth castle. And a great fear there was amongst them lest some should rescue me out of their hands, but that fear was needless. Next night we came to York, where the marshall put me up into a great chamber, where there came most part of two troops to see me. One of those troopers, being an envious man, and hearing that I was premunired, asked me what estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free land. I took no notice of his question, but was moved to declare the word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving. At night the lord

Frecheville (so called) who commanded those horse, came to me, and was very civil and loving, and I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and declared many things to him relating to truth. They kept me at York two days, and then the marshall and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough Castle: indeed these were very civil men, and carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. On the way we baited at Malton, and they permitted friends to come and visit me: when we were come to Scarborough, they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, and he sent half a dozen soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me up into the castle, and there put me into a room, and set a centry on me, and I being so very weak and subject to fainting, they for awhile let me go out sometimes into the air with the centry. They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open room, where the rain came in, and the room smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me. One day the governor, who was called Sir John Crosland, came to see me, and brought with him one called Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the governor to go into my room, and see what a room I had. Now I had got a little fire made in it, and the room was so filled with smoke, that when they were in they could hardly find their way out again, and he being a papist I told him that was his purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out a matter of fifty shillings to stop out the rain, and keep the room from smoking so much: but when I had been at that charge, and made the room somewhat tolerable, they removed me out of it, and put me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney nor fire-hearth; and the room being to the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly, so that the water came over my bed and ran about the room, that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet I had no fire to dry them, so that my body was benumbed with cold, and my fingers swelled that one was grown as big as two; and though I was at some charge on this room also, yet I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides they would suffer few friends to come at me, and many times not any, no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of the world to bring me necessaries; and sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and then she would scuffle with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire of, when I was in a room where a fire could be made. Commonly a

three-penny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water that had worm-wood steeped or bruised in it. But one time when the weather was very sharp, and I had taken great cold, I got a little elicampne beer, and I heard one of the soldiers say to the other, that they would play me a trick, for they would send for me up to the deputy governor, and in the mean time they would drink my strong beer out, and so they did: when I came back one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer, and asked me for some strong beer; I told him they had played their pretty trick, and so I took no further notice of it. But inasmuch as they kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for friends to come to me, I spake to the keepers of the castle to this effect; I did not know till I was removed from Lancaster castle, and brought prisoner to this castle of Scarborough, that I was convicted of a premunire, for the judge did not give sentence upon me at the assizes in open court. But seeing I am now a prisoner here, if, may not have my liberty and enlargement, let my friends and acquaintance have their liberty to come and visit me, as Paul's friends had among the Romans, who were not Christians but heathens. For Paul's friends had their liberty, and all that would might come to him, and he had his liberty to preach to them in his hired house, but I cannot have liberty to go into the town, nor for my friends to come to me here. So you that go under the name of Christians, are worse in this respect than those heathens were.

But though they would not let friends come to me, they would often bring others either to gaze upon me or to contend with me. One time there was a great company of papists to discourse with me, and they affirmed the pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time. But I shewed them the contrary by history, for one of the bishops of Rome (Marcellinus by name) denied the faith and sacrificed to idols, and therefore he was not infallible. And I told them, if they were in the infallible spirit they need not have jails, swords, and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion by, and to destroy men's lives about religion, for if they were in the infallible spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one that had been of their society told me: it was a woman who lived in Kent, and had not only been a papist herself, but had brought over several to that religion; but she coming to be convinced of God's truth, and turned by it to Christ her

Saviour, exhorted the papists to the same. And one time having one of them, a tailor, at work at her house, while she opened to him the falseness of the popish religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, he drew his knife at her, and got between her and the door, but she spake boldly to him, and bid him put up his knife, for she knew his principle. I asked the woman what she thought he would have done with his knife; and she said he would have stabbed her. Stab thee, said I, what would he have stabbed thee for, thy religion? Yes, said she, it is the principle of the papists, if any turn from their religion to kill them if they can. This story I told those papists, and told them I had it from one that had been one of them, but had forsook their principles and had discovered their practices. They did not deny this to be their principle, but said, what, would I declare this abroad? I told them yes, such things ought to be declared abroad; that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true Christianity. Whereupon they went away in a great rage.

Another papist came to discourse with me, and he said all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Christ came, and that when Christ suffered he went into hell, and the devil said to him, What comest thou hither for, to break open our strong holds? And Christ said, to fetch them all out. And so he said Christ was three nights and three days in hell, to bring them out. I told him that was false, for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven; and Abraham was in heaven, for the scripture saith, Lazarus was in his bosom: and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the Mount before he suffered. These instances stopped the priest's mouth, and put him to a stand.

Another time there came one called doctor Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor of physic. He came with him that was called the lord Falconbridge, with whom came also the governor of Tynemouth castle, and several knights. And I being called to them, this Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear. He said I ought to swear my allegiance to the king. Now he being a great presbyterian, I asked him whether he had not sworn against the king and house of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? and had he not since sworn to the king? and what then was his swearing good for? But my allegiance, I told him, did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness. So after some further discourse I was had away to my prison again.

And afterwards this Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients that he had conquered me. When I heard of his boasting I told the governor it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondsman; and I desired to bid him come to me again when he came to the castle. He came again awhile after, with a matter of sixteen or seventeen great persons; and then he ran himself worse on ground than before. For in discourse he affirmed before them all, that Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; and that the grace of God, that brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men; and that Christ had not died for all men. I asked him what sort of men those were which Christ had not enlightened? and whom his grace had not appeared to? and whom he had not died for? He said, Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men. Then I asked him whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners, and he said yes. And did not Christ die for sinners, said I; did he not come to call sinners to repentance? Yes, said he. Then said I, thou hast stopped thy own mouth. So I proved that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned it into wantonness and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people that were present confessed it was true, but he went away in a great rage, and came no more at me.

Another time the governor brought a priest, but his mouth was soon stopped. Not long after he brought two or three parliament men, and they asked me whether I did own ministers and bishops? I told them, yes, such as Christ sent forth, such as had freely received and would freely give, and such as were qualified, and were in the same power and spirit that they were in in the apostles' days. But such bishops and teachers as theirs were, that would go no further than they had a great benefice, I did not own, for they were not like the apostles. For Christ saith to his ministers, "Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel;" but ye parliament men, that keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, ye have spoiled them all, for do ye think they will go into all nations to preach? or will go any further than they have a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or no.

There came another time the widow of him who was called the Old Lord Fairfax, and with her a great company, and one of the company was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me why we said thou and thee to people; for he counted us but

fools and idiots for speaking so. I asked him, whether they that translated the scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the scriptures so, and made the grammar so, thou to one, and you to more than one, and left it so to us. And if they were fools and idiots, then why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear thou and thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and bible, and put the plural instead of the singular. But if they were wise men that had so translated the bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, then I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves that did not speak as their grammars and bibles taught them, but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so. Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company did acknowledge the truth, and were pretty loving and tender; and some of them would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

After this came one called doctor Cradock, with three priests more, and the governor and his lady (so called) and another that was called a lady, and a great company with them. Dr. Cradock asked me what I was in prison for; I told him, for obeying the command of Christ and the apostle in not swearing. But if he, being both a doctor and a justice of peace, could convince me that after Christ and the apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. Here was the bible, I told him, he might, if he would, shew me any such command. He said, it is written, "Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness." Ay, said I, it was written so in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more too, but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the apostle forbade it? Besides, said I, in that text where it is written, ye shall swear, what [ye] was this? Was it ye Gentiles, or ye Jews? To this he would not answer. But one of the priests that were with him answered, and said, it was to the Jews that this was spoken; and then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so. Very well, said I, but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature. Indeed, said he, in the gospel-times every thing was to be

established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses ; but there was to be no swearing then. Why then, said I, dost thou force oaths upon Christians contrary to thy own knowledge in the gospel times. And why, said I, dost thou excommunicate my friends ? (for he had excommunicated abundance, both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.) He said, for not coming to church. Why, said I, ye left us above twenty years ago (when we were but young lads and lasses) to the presbyterians, independents, and baptists, many whereof made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us, because we would not follow them. Now we being but young, knew little then of your principles ; and the old men that did know them, if ye had intended to have kept them to you, and have kept your principles alive that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, and collects, and homilies, and evening-songs, (for Paul writ epistles to the saints, though he was in prison) ; but they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles, we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done, that is, ye have put us out of your church before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. And is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in. Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But, said I, what dost thou call the church ? Why, said he, that which you call the steeple-house. Then I asked him, whether Christ shed his blood for the steeple-house ; and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with his blood ? And seeing the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that he is the head of that old house or of his people ? No, said he, Christ is the head of the people and they are the church. Then said I, but you have given that title, church, which belongs to the people, to an old house, and you have taught people to believe so. I asked him also, why he persecuted friends for not paying tithes. And whether God did ever give a command to the Gentiles that they should pay tithes. And whether Christ had not ended tithes when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes. And whether Christ, when he sent forth his disciples to preach, had not commanded them

them were met together, they talked much then of hanging me. But I told them, if that was it they desired, and it was permitted them, I was ready; for I never feared death nor sufferings in my life, but I was known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from all stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men. But afterwards the governor growing kinder, I spake to him when he was to go to London to the parliament, and desired him to speak to him that was called esquire Marsh, and to sir Francis Cob (so called), and to some others, and let them know how long I had lain in prison, and for what; and he did so. And when he came down again, he told me that esquire Marsh said he would go an hundred miles bare-foot for my liberty, he knew me so well; and several others he said spake well of me. From which time the governor was very loving to me.

There were amongst the prisoners that were there, two very bad men, that would often sit drinking with the officers and soldiers, and because I would not sit and drink with them too, that made them the worse against me. One time when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, who was a presbyterian, and had been a captain) came to me and challenged me to fight with him. I seeing what condition he was in, got out of his way, and next morning, when he was grown more sober, told him, how unmanly a thing it was in him to challenge a man to fight whose principle he knew it was not to strike, but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. And I told him, if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some of the soldiers, that could have answered him in his own way. But however I told him, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him) here, said I, here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back. With that he skipped away from me, and went into another room; at which the soldiers fell a laughing, and one of the officers said, you are a happy man, that can bear such things. Thus he was conquered without a blow; but after a while he took the oath and gave bond, and got out of prison, and not long after the Lord cut him off.

There were great imprisonments in this and the former years, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London many friends were crowded into Newgate and other prisons, where the sickness was, and many friends died in prison; many friends also were banished, and several sent on ship-board by the king's order. Some

masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again, yet some were sent to Barbadoes, and to Jamaica, and to Nevis, and the Lord blessed them there. There was one master of a ship was very wicked and cruel to friends that were put on board his ship; for he kept the friends down under decks, though the sickness was amongst them, so that many died of it. But the Lord plagued him for his wickedness; for he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed with contrary winds, though other ships went out and made their voyages. At last he came before Plymouth, and there the governor and magistrates would not suffer him nor any of his men to come ashore, though he wanted many necessities for his voyage; but Thomas Lower, and Arthur Cotton, and John Light, and some other friends, went to the ship's side and carried necessities for the friends that were prisoners on board. The master being thus crossed, and plagued, and vexed, he cursed them that put him upon this freight, and said, he hoped he should not go far before he was taken. And the vessel was but a little while gone out of sight of Plymouth, but she was taken by a Dutch man of war and carried into Holland. When they came into Holland, the States there sent the banished friends back to England with a letter of passport and a certificate, that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them. But in time the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame.

After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough-castle, I sent a letter to the king, in which I gave him an account of my imprisonment and the bad usage I had had in prison, and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but he. After this John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance also with him that was called esquire Marsh, he went to visit him, and spake to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to deliver it to the master of requests, whom he called sir John Birkenhead, he would endeavour to get a release for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh, and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the king for my release. The substance of the order was, that the king being certainly informed that I was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots rather than to make any, &c. that therefore his royal

pleasure was, that I should be discharged from my imprisonment, &c. As soon as this order was obtained, John Whitehead came down to Scarborough with it and delivered it to the governor; who, upon receipt thereof, gathered the officers together, and without requiring bond or sureties for my peaceable living, being satisfied that I was a man of a peaceable life, he discharged me freely, and gave me the following passport:

‘Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty’s order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough-castle, this first day of September, 1666.’

JORDAN CROSLANDS,
Governor of Scarborough-castle.

After I was released, I would have given the governor something for the civility and kindness he had of late shewed me, but he would not receive any thing; but said, whatever good he could do for me and my friends he would do it, and never do them any hurt. And afterwards if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break up friends’ meetings, if he sent any down he would privately give them a charge not to meddle; and so he continued loving to his dying day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed, and grown very respectful to me, and when they had occasion to speak of me, they would say, he is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell, for we could never bow him.

The very next day after I was released from Scarborough-prison, the fire brake out at London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in his word, which he had shewed me before in Lancaster jail, when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword southward, as is before expressed. And the people of London were forewarned of this fire; yet few laid it to heart or believed it, but rather grew more wicked, and higher in pride. For we had a friend that was moved to come out of Huntingdonshire a little before the fire, and to scatter his money up and down the streets, and to turn his horse loose in the streets, and to untie the knees of his breeches, and let his stockings fall down, and to unbutton his doublet, and told the people so should they run up and down, scattering their money and their goods, half undressed,

like mad people, as he was a sign to them; and so they did, when the fire brake out, and the city was burning. Thus hath the Lord exercised his prophets and servants by his power, and shewed them signs of his judgments, and sent them to forewarn the people; but instead of repenting, they have beaten and cruelly entreated some, and some they have imprisoned, both in the former power's days and since. But the Lord is just, and happy are they that obey his word. Some have been moved to go naked in their streets in the other power's days and since, as signs of their nakedness, and have declared amongst them, that God would strip them out of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have many times whipped, or otherwise abused them, and sometimes imprisoned them. Others have been moved to go in sackcloth, and to denounce the woes and vengeance of God against the pride and haughtiness of the people; but few regarded it. And in the other power's days, the wicked, envious, professing priests, put up several petitions both to Oliver and Richard, called protectors, and to the parliaments, judges, and justices, against us, stuffed full of lies, and vilifying words and slanders; but we got copies of them, and through the Lord's assistance answered them all, and cleared the Lord's truth and ourselves of them. But oh! the body of darkness that rose against the truth in them, that made lies their refuge. But the Lord swept them away, and in and with his power, truth, light, and life, hedged his lambs about, and did preserve them as on eagle's wings. Therefore we all had and have great encouragement to trust the Lord, whom we did see by his power and spirit, how he did overturn and bring to nought all the confederacies and counsels that were hatched in the darkness against his truth and people, and by the same truth gave his people dominion, that in it they might serve him.

And indeed I could not but take notice how the hand of the Lord turned against those my persecutors, who had been the cause of my imprisonment, or had been abusive or cruel to me in it; for the officer that fetched me to Houlker hall wasted his estate, and soon after fled into Ireland: and most of the justices that were upon the bench at the sessions when I was sent to prison, died in awhile after; as old Thomas Preston, Rawlinson, and Porter, and Matthew West of Borwick. And though justice Fleming did not die, yet his wife died, and left thirteen or fourteen motherless children to him, who had imprisoned two friends to

death, and thereby made several children fatherless. Col. Kirby never prospered after, and the chief constable Richard Dodgson, died soon after, and Mount, the petty constable, and the other petty constable John Ashburnham, his wife, who railed at me in her house, died soon after. And William Knipe, that was the witness they brought against me, died soon after also : and Hunter, the jailer of Lancaster, who was very wicked to me while I was his prisoner, he was cut off in his young days : and the undersheriff that carried me from Lancaster prison towards Scarborough, he lived not long after : and one Joblin, the jailer of Durham, who was prisoner with me in Scarborough castle, and had often incensed the governor and soldiers against me, though he got out of prison, yet the Lord cut him off in his wickedness soon after. When I came into that country again, most of these that dwelt in Lancashire were dead, and others ruined in their estates, so that, though I did not seek revenge upon them, for their actings against me contrary to the law, yet the Lord had executed his judgments upon many of them.

Being now set free from my imprisonment in Scarborough castle, I went about three miles to a large general meeting at a friend's house that had been a chief constable, and all was quiet and well. On the fourth day after I came into Scarborough again, and had a meeting in the town at Peter Hodgson's house. To this meeting came one called a lady, and several other great persons, also a young man that was son to the bailiff of the town, and had been convinced while I was there in prison. That lady (so called) came to me, and said I spake against the ministers ; I told her, such as the prophets and Christ declared against formerly, I declared against now.

From hence I went to Whitby, and having visited friends there, I passed thence to Burlington, where I had another meeting, and from thence to Oram, where I had another meeting : and from thence to Marmaduke Stor's, and had a large meeting at a constable's house, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle.

Next day, two friends being to take each other in marriage, there was a very great meeting, which I was at : and I was moved to open to the people the state of our marriages, declaring how the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the elders, and how that it was God that did join man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it was God's joining that was the right and honourable marriage : but never any priest did

marry any that we read of in the scriptures, from Genesis to the Revelations. Then I shewed them the duty of man and wife, how they should serve God, being heirs of life and grace together.

After the meeting I passed from thence to Grace Barwick, where I had a general meeting, which was very large, and when that was over I came to Richard Shipton's, where I had another meeting, and so to a priest's house, whose wife was convinced, and himself grown very loving and glad to see me. This was that priest that in the year 1651, threatened if ever he met me again he would have my life, or I should have his; and said he would lose his head if I were not knocked down in a month. But now he was partly convinced, and become very kind. I went from his house towards the sea, where several friends came to visit me, and amongst others one Philip Scarff, who had formerly been a priest, but having received the truth, was now become a preacher of Christ freely, and continued so. Passing on, I called to see an ancient man who was convinced of truth, and was above an hundred years old. Then came I to a friend's house where I had a great meeting, and quiet; and passing on through the country I had a great meeting near Malton, and another large meeting near Hull, from which I went to a place called Holdendike; as we went into the town the watchmen questioned me and those that were with me, but they not having any warrant to stay us, we went on by them, and they in a rage threatened they would search us out. I went to the house of one that was called the lady Mountague, and there I lodged that night, and several friends came thither to visit me. Next morning being up betimes, I walked out into the orchard, and saw a man about sun-rising go into the house in a great cloke; he staid not long, but came soon out again, and went away, not seeing me. I felt something strike at my life, and went into the house, where I found the maid servant affrighted and trembling, and she told me that man had a naked rapier under his cloke. By which I perceived he came with an intent to have done mischief, but the Lord prevented him.

From this place passing through the country, I visited friends till I came to York, where we had a large meeting. After the meeting I went to visit justice Robinson, an ancient justice of the peace, who had been very loving to me and friends from the beginning. There was at this time a priest with him, and he told me it was said of us that we loved none but ourselves. I told him we loved all mankind, as they were God's creation, and as they were chil-

dren of Adam and Eve by generation, and we loved the brotherhood in the Holy Ghost. This stopped him, so that after some other discourse we parted friendly, and we passed away.

About this time I had written a book intituled, Fear God and Honour the King; in which I shewed that none could rightly fear God and honour the king, but they that departed from sin and evil. This book did much affect the soldiers and most people.

Now having visited friends at York, we passed thence to a market-town, where we had a meeting at one George Watkinson's, who formerly had been a justice. A glorious blessed meeting it was, and very large, and the Seed of life was set over all. But we had been troubled to have got into this town had not Providence made way for us, for the watchmen stood ready to stop us, but there being a man riding just before us, [the watchmen questioned him first, and perceiving that he was a justice of peace, they let him pass, and we riding close after him, by that means we escaped.

From this place we passed to Thomas Taylor's, who had formerly been a captain, where we had a precious meeting. Hard by Thomas Taylor's there lived one called a knight, who was much displeased when he heard I was like to be released out of prison, and threatened that if the king set me at liberty he would send me to prison again the next day. But though I had this meeting so near him, yet the Lord's power stopped him from meddling, and the meeting was quiet. Colonel Kirby also, who had been the chief means of my imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough castles, when he heard I was set at liberty, got another order for the taking me up, and said he would ride his horse forty miles to take me, and would give forty pounds to have me taken. Yet awhile after I came so near him as to have a meeting within two miles of him, and then was he struck with the gout, and kept his bed, so that it was thought he would have died.

From Thomas Taylor's I passed through the country visiting friends till I came to Synderhill Green, where I had a large and general meeting. The priest of the place hearing of it, he sent the constable to the justices for a warrant, and they rid their horses so hard that they almost spoiled them; but the notice they had being short, and the way long, the meeting was ended before they came. I heard not of them till I was going out of the house, after meeting was over, and then a friend came to me and told me they were searching another house for me, which was

the house I was then going to. As I went along the closes towards it, I met the constables and wardens and the justice's clerk with them, so I passed through them, and they looked at me, and I went to the house that they had been searching. Thus the devil and the priest lost their design, for the Lord's power bound them, and preserved me over them, and friends parted, and all escaped them. And the officers went away as they came, for the Lord had frustrated their design, praised be his name for ever.

After this I went into Derbyshire, where I had a large meeting, and some friends were apprehensive of the constable's coming in, for they had had a great persecution in those parts; but our meeting was quiet. There was a justice of peace in that country had taken away much of friends' goods; whereupon one Ellen Fretwell had made her appeal to the sessions; and the rest of the justices granted her her goods again, and spake to that persecuting justice, that he should not do so any more. And she was moved to speak to that justice, and to warn him; whereupon he bid her come and sit down on the bench. Ay, said she, if I may persuade you to do justice to the country, I will sit down with you: No, said he, then you shall not; and bid her get her out of the court. But as she was going out she was moved of the Lord to turn again, and say, she should be there, when he should not. After the sessions were ended, he went home, and drove away her brother's oxen, for going to meetings. And then another woman, a friend of Chesterfield, whose name was Susan Frith, was moved of the Lord to tell him, that if he continued on in his persecuting of the innocent, the Lord would execute his plagues upon him. Soon after which this justice fell distracted, and died. This relation I had from Ellen Fretwell herself.

I travelled out of Derbyshire into Nottinghamshire, and had a large meeting at Skegby; and from thence went to Mansfield, where also I had a meeting; and thence went to another town, where there was a fair, at which I met with many friends. Then passing through the forest in a mighty thundering and rainy day, I came to Nottingham; and so great was the tempest that day that many trees were torn up by the roots, and some people killed; but the Lord preserved us. On the first-day following I had a large meeting in Nottingham, very quiet; and friends were come to sit under their teacher, the grace of God, which brought them salvation, and were established upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus. After the meeting I

went to visit the friend that had been sheriff about the year 1649, whose prisoner I had then been.

From Nottingham I passed into Leicestershire and came to Sileby, where we had a large blessed meeting: after which I went to Leicester to visit the prisoners there, and then came to John Penford's, where we had a general meeting, large and precious. From thence I passed through the country, visiting friends and my relations, till I came into Warwickshire and to Warwick, where having visited the prisoners, I passed from thence to Badgley, and had a precious meeting there. Then I travelled through Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, visiting friends in each county. In Oxfordshire the devil had laid a snare for me, but the Lord brake it; and his power came over all, and his blessed truth spread, and friends were increased therein. Thus after I had passed through many counties, visiting friends, and had had many large and precious meetings amongst them, I came at last to London. But I was so weak with lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonments, and my joints and my body were so stiff and benumbed that I could hardly get on my horse or bend my joints, nor well bear to be near the fire or to eat warm meat, I had been kept so long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them; and I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before.

Now after I had been a time in London, and had visited friends meetings through the city, I went into the country again, and had large meetings in the countries as I went, at Kingston, Reading, and Wiltshire, till I came to Bristol. At Bristol also I had many large meetings, and Thomas Lower came thither out of Cornwall to meet me: and friends were there from several parts of the nation, it being then the fair time. After I was clear of Bristol I left that city and went to Nath. Crips's; and so through the countries till I came back to London again, having large meetings in the way, and all quiet, blessed be the Lord. And thus, though I was very weak, yet I travelled up and down in the service of the Lord, and the Lord enabled me to go through in it.

About this time some that had run out from truth and clashed against friends were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over, and made them condemn and tear their papers of controversies to pieces. Several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head

of that that had run out. And in these meetings (which lasted whole days) several that had run out with John Parrot and others came in again, and condemned that spirit that led them to keep on their hats when friends prayed, and when they themselves prayed; and some of them said that friends were more righteous than they, and that if friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition. And thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested and came over all.

Then was I moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five monthly meetings of men and women in the city of London (besides the women's meetings and the quarterly meetings) to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to truth: for whereas friends had had only quarterly meetings; now truth was spread, and friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me and let me see what I must do, and how the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings should be ordered and established in this nation, and in other nations; and that I should write to them where I came not, to do the same. So after things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth, and power, and seed, and life reigned and shined over all in the city, then I passed forth into the countries again, and went down into Essex; and after the monthly-meetings were settled in that county, I went from thence into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. And when we had visited friends in their meetings in those parts, and the monthly-meetings were settled there, we passed from thence and went into Huntingdonshire, where we had very large and blessed meetings; and though we met with some opposition there, yet the Lord's power came over all, and the monthly-meetings were established there also. When we came into Bedfordshire we had great opposition; but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamshire, where we had many precious meetings, and the monthly-meetings were settled there. Then passing into Lincolnshire we had a meeting of some men friends of all the meetings in the county, at his house who had been formerly sheriff of Lincoln, and all was quiet. After this meeting we passed over Trent into Nottinghamshire again, (he that had been the sheriff of Lincoln being with me) where we had some of all the meetings in that county together, and our meeting was glorious and peaceable; and many precious meetings we had in that county.

At that time William Smith was very weak and sick, and the constables and others had seized upon all his goods, to the very bed he lay upon, for truth's sake. These officers threatened to come and break up our meeting, but the Lord's power chained them, so that they had not power to meddle with us, blessed be his name. After the meeting was over, I went to visit William Smith, and there were the constables and others watching his corn and his beasts, that none of them might be removed.

From thence we passed into Leicestershire and so into Warwickshire, where many blessed meetings we had; and the order of the gospel was set up, and the men's monthly meetings established in all those counties. Then we went into Derbyshire, where we had several large and blessed meetings; and in many places we were threatened by the officers, but through the power of the Lord we escaped their hands. So leaving things well settled in Derbyshire, we travelled over the Peak hills, (which were very cold, for it was then frost and snow,) and so came into Staffordshire; and at Thomas Hammersley's we had a general men's-meeting, where things were well settled in the gospel-order, and the monthly meetings were established there also. But I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back; but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord that he would carry me through, as he did by his power. So we came into Cheshire, where we had several blessed meetings and a general men's-meeting, wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were settled according to the gospel-order, in and by the power of God; and after meeting was done I passed away. But when the justices heard of it they were very much troubled, that they had not come and broken it up and taken me, but the Lord prevented them. So after I had cleared myself there in the Lord's service, I passed into Lancashire, to William Barnes's, near Warrington, where met some of most of the meetings in that county, and there all the monthly meetings were established in the gospel-order also. From thence I sent papers into Westmoreland by Leonard Fell and Robert Widders, and also into Bishoprick, Cleaveland and Northumberland, and into Cumberland and Scotland, to exhort friends to settle the monthly meetings in the Lord's power in those places, which they did: and so the Lord's power came over all, and the heirs of it came to inherit it. For the authority of our meetings

is the power of God, the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, that they may see over the devil that hath darkened them, and that all the heirs of the gospel might walk according to the gospel, and glorify God with their bodies, souls and spirits, which are the Lord's; for the order of the glorious gospel is not of man, nor by man. To this meeting in Lancashire Margaret Fell, being a prisoner, got liberty to come, and went with me to Jane Milner's in Cheshire, where we parted. And I passed out of Cheshire into Shropshire, and from thence into Wales, and had a large general men's-meeting at Charles Floid's, where some opposers came in, but the Lord's power brought them down.

Having gone through Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire we passed into Merionethshire, where we had several blessed meetings, and then went to the sea side, where also we had a precious meeting. And having passed through several countries, and friends there being established upon Christ their foundation, we left Wales, the monthly meetings being settled there in the power of God, and returned into Shropshire, where the friends of the country gathering together, the monthly meetings were established there also. Then coming into Worcestershire, after we had had many meetings up and down amongst friends in that country, we had a general men's-meeting at Henry Gibb's House at Pashur, where also the monthly meetings were settled in the gospel-order.

The sessions were held that day in that town, and some friends were pretty much concerned, lest they should send some officers to break up our meeting; but the Lord's power restrained them, so that our meeting was quiet, through which power we had dominion. After the meeting I passed away, and had several meetings amongst friends in that country till I came to Worcester, and it being the fair-time, we had a precious meeting there. There was then in Worcester one major Wild, a persecuting man, and after I was gone out of town, some of his soldiers inquired after me; but I having left friends there settled in good order, was passed away to Droitwich.

From thence we passed to Shrewsbury, where also we had a very precious meeting. But the mayor hearing that I was in town, got the rest of the officers together to consult what to do against me; for they said, the great Quaker of England was come to town. But when they were come together the Lord confounded their counsels, so that, when some were for imprisoning me, others of

them opposed it, and so being divided amongst themselves I escaped their hands.

We went also into Radnorshire, where we had many precious meetings, and the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's power. As we came forth of that country, staying a little at a market town, a justice's clerk and some other rude fellows combined together to do us a mischief upon the road. Accordingly they followed us out of town and soon overtook us; but there being many market-people on the way, they were somewhat hindered from doing what they intended. Yet observing, that two of our company rid at some distance behind, they set upon them two, and one of them drew his sword, and cut one of those two friends, whose name was Richard Moor, the Surgeon of Shrewsbury. Meanwhile another of these rude fellows came galloping after me and the other friend that was with me, and we being to pass over a bridge, that was somewhat of the narrowest for him to pass by us, he in his eagerness to get before us rid into the brook, and plunged his horse into a deep hole in the water. I saw the design and stopped, and desired friends to be patient, and give them no occasion; and in this time came Richard Moor up to us, with the other friend that was with him, who knew the men and their names. Then we rid on the road again, and a little further we met another man on foot who was drunk, and had a naked sword in his hand. And not far beyond him in a bottom, we met two men and two women, one of which men had his thumb cut off by this drunken man that had the naked sword; for he being in drink would have ravished one of the women, and this man withstanding him, and rescuing the young woman from him, he whipped out his sword and cut off the man's thumb. Now though this drunken man was then on foot, having alighted to do his wickedness, yet he had a horse, that being loose followed him a pretty way behind. Wherefore I rid after the horse, and having caught him, I brought him to the man that had his thumb cut off; and bid him take the horse to the next justice of peace, and by that means they might find out, and pursue the man that had wounded him.

Upon this occasion I wrote a letter to the justices, and to the judge of the assize which was then at hand; and I employed some friends to carry it to the justices first. The justice to whom the clerk belonged, rebuked his clerk and the others also, for disturbing and abusing us upon the high way; so that those men were glad to come and make intreaty to friends not to appear against them at

the assize; which upon their submission and acknowledgment of their fault, friends granted. And this thing was of good service in the country, for it stopped many rude people, that before had been forward to abuse friends.

We passed into Herefordshire, where we had several blessed meetings; and we had a general men's-meeting also, where all the monthly meetings were settled. There was about this time a proclamation against meetings; and as we came through Herefordshire, we were told of a great meeting there was of the presbyterians, who had engaged themselves to stand and give up all, rather than forsake their meetings. But when they heard of this proclamation, the people came but the priest was gone, and then they were at a loss. Then they met in Leominster privately, and provided bread and cheese, and drink in readiness, that if the officers should come, they would put up their bibles and fall to eating. The bailiff found them out, and came in among them, and said their bread and cheese should not cover them, but he would have their speakers. They cried, what then would become of their wives and children? But he took their speakers and kept them a while: this the bailiff told our friend Peter Young, and said they were the veriest hypocrites that ever made a profession of religion.

The like contrivance they had in other places: for there was one Pocock at London, that married Abigail Darcy, who was called a lady, and she being convinced of truth, I went to his house to see her. This Pocock had been one of the triers of the priests; and being an high presbyterian, and envious against us, he used to call our friends house-creepers. Now I going to visit his wife, and he being present, she said to me, I have something to speak to thee against my husband. Nay, said I, thou must not speak against thy husband. Yes, said she, but I must in this case: the last first-day, said she, he and his priests and people (the presbyterians) met, and they had candles and tobacco-pipes, and bread and cheese, and cold meat on the table, and they agreed before-hand, that if the officers should come in upon them, then they would leave their preaching and praying and would fall to their cold meat. Oh, said I to him, is not this a shame to you, who persecuted and imprisoned us and spoiled our goods, because we would not follow you and be of your religion, and called us house-creepers, and now ye do not stand to your own religion yourselves. Did ye ever find our meetings stuffed with bread and cheese and tobacco-pipes? Or did ye ever read in the scriptures of any such practice among

the saints? Why, said the old man, we must be as wise as serpents. Then said I, this is the serpent's wisdom indeed. But who, said I, would ever have thought that you presbyterians and independents who persecuted and imprisoned others, and spoiled their goods, and whipped such as would not follow your religion, should now flinch yourselves, and not dare to stand to and own your own religion, but cover it with tobacco-pipes, flagons of drink, cold meat and bread and cheese. But this and such like deceitful practices, I understood afterwards, were too common amongst them in times of persecution.

Now after we had travelled through Herefordshire, and meetings were well settled there, we passed into Monmouthshire, where I had several blessed meetings, and at Walter Jenkins, who had been a justice of the peace, we had a large meeting where were some convinced; this meeting was quiet. But at another meeting that we had before this, there came the bailiff of the hundred almost drunk, pretending he was to take up the speakers. There was a mighty power of God in the meeting, so that, although he raged, the power of the Lord limited him that he could not break up the meeting. When the meeting was over I staid a while, and he staid also; but after some time I spake to him, and so passed quietly away. At night some rude people came and shot off a musket against the house, but did not hurt any body; thus the Lord's power came over all, and chained down the unruly spirits, so that we escaped them, and came to Ross that night, and had a meeting there at James Merrick's.

After this we came into Gloucestershire and had a general men's-meeting at Nathaniel Crips's house, where all the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's everlasting power, and the heirs of salvation were exhorted to take their possessions of the gospel, the power of God, which was and is the authority of their meetings. Many blessed meetings we had up and down in that country, before we came to Bristol, whither also we went; and after we had had several powerful meetings there, the men's and women's-meetings were settled there also.

Now as I was lying in bed at Bristol, the word of the Lord came to me that I must go back to London. Next morning Alexander Parker and several others came to me, and I asked them what they felt? They in like manner asked me what was upon me? I told them I felt I must return to London; and they said the same was upon them. So we gave up to return to London; for which way the Lord moved and led us, thither we went in his power.

Wherefore leaving Bristol, we passed into Wiltshire, and established the men's monthly-meetings in the Lord's power there, and then passed through the countries visiting friends till we came to London.

After we had visited friends in the city and had staid there a while, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's-meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful there, that so care might be taken to prevent those disorders that had been committed by some. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations' minds; and some young raw people that came amongst us had mixed with the world; and widows had married and had not made provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. And although I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread over the nation; advising friends who might be concerned in that case, that they might lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing were concluded, and afterward publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, (as they were moved thereto). And when all things were found clear, they being free from all others and their relations satisfied, then they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other, in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses. Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was therefore ordered by the same power and spirit of God, that marriages should be laid before the men's monthly and quarterly meetings, or as the meetings were then established, that friends might see, that the relations of those that proceeded to marriage were satisfied, and that the parties were clear from all others, and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again, and what else was needful to be inquired into; that so all things might be kept clean and pure, and done in righteousness to the glory of God. And afterwards it was ordered in the same wisdom of God, that if either of the parties, that intended to marry, came out of another nation, county, or monthly-meeting, they should bring a certificate from the monthly-meeting to which they belonged, for satisfaction of the monthly-meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.

Now after these things, with many other services for God, were set in order, and settled in the churches in the city, I passed out of London, in the leadings of the Lord's power, into the country again; and going into Hertford-

the saints? Why, said I, there, and the men's as serpents. Then, as I was there, I passed on as far as deed. But who, said I, great meeting of many sorts of presbyterians and others towards London by Waltham, prisoned others. I saw of a school there for teaching as would not be set up at Shackle- selves, and of a school for girls and young maidens in whatsoever but have been useful in the creation.

Then we went to London again, where I staid a while in the service of the Lord, and then went down into the country, where I had many precious meetings. At John Brown's of Weston near Aylesbury, some of the friends of each meeting being gathered together, the monthly-meetings for that county were established amongst them also, in the order of the gospel, the power of God; and the power of the Lord confirmed it in all that felt it, and they came thereby to see and feel, that the power of God was the authority of their meetings. Then after the monthly-meetings were settled there in the order of the gospel, and upon the foundation Christ Jesus, I passed on into Oxfordshire, and went to Nathaniel Ball's at North Newton near Banbury, who was a friend in the ministry; and there being a general meeting, where some of all the meetings were present, the monthly-meetings for that county were then settled in the power of God, and friends were very glad of them; for they came into their services in the church, and to take care for God's glory. After this meeting we passed through the country visiting friends, till we came into Gloucestershire; and visiting friends through that county also, we travelled on till we came into Monmouthshire, to one Richard Hambery's, where meeting with some of all the meetings of that county, the monthly-meetings were settled there also in the Lord's power, that all in it might take care of God's glory, and admonish and exhort such as did not walk as became the gospel. And indeed these meetings did make a great reformation amongst people, insomuch as the very justices took notice of the usefulness and service thereof.

When we went from Richard Hambery's, he and his wife accompanied us a day's journey through the country visiting friends, till we came to a widow woman's, where we lay that night; and from thence passed over the hills next day, visiting friends and declaring the truth to people, till we came to another widow woman's house, where we had a meeting. The woman of the house could not

speak English, yet she praised the Lord for sending us over those hills to come and visit them.

We travelled on through the country till we came to Swansea, where on the first-day we had a large and precious meeting, the Lord's presence being eminently amongst us. On a week-day afterwards we had a general meeting beyond Swansea of men friends, that came from Swansea, Tenby, Haverfordwest and other places; and there the monthly-meetings were settled in the gospel-order, and received by friends in the power of the Lord, and the Lord's truth was over all.

From hence we endeavoured to have got over the water into Cornwall, and in order thereunto went back to Swansea and so to Mumbles, thinking to have got passage there, but the master deceived us; for though he had promised to carry us, yet when we came he would not. Thereupon we turned from thence, and went to another place where there was a passage boat, into which we got our horses; but there being some rude men in the boat (though called gentlemen) that threatened to pistol the master if he took us in, he being afraid of them turned our horses out again, which put us out of hopes of getting over that way. Wherefore turning back again into the country, we staid up all night, and about the second hour in the morning took horse, and travelled through the country till we came near Cardiff, where we staid one night. And the next day came to a place called Newport; and it being market-day there, several friends came to us, with whom we sate together awhile, and after we had had a refreshing season together, we parted from them and went on our way.

When we were gone beyond this market-town we overtook a man, who lingered on the way, as if he staid for somebody; but when we came up to him, he rid along with us, and asked us many questions. At length meeting with two others, who seemed to be pages to some great persons, he took acquaintance with them, and I heard him tell them he would stop us and take us up. We rid on, being in our way; and when he came to us and would have stopped us, I told him none ought to stop us on the king's highway, for it was as free for us as for them; and I was moved to exhort him to fear the Lord. Then galloped he away before us, and I perceived, his intent was to stop us at Shipton in Wales, which was a garrison-town, through which we were to pass in our way. When we were come to Shipton, John-ap-John being with me, we walked down the hill into the town leading our horses; and it being the market-day there several friends met us, and

would have had us to have gone into an inn : but we were not to go into any inn, but walked directly through the town over the bridge, and then we were out of the limits of that town. Thus the Lord's everlasting arm and power preserved us, and carried us over in his work, labour and service.

The next first-day we had a large meeting in the Forest of Dean, and all was quiet. Next day we passed over the water; and having staid a little at a friend's house by the way, we came to Oldstone; where, after we had visited friends, we passed over the water again to William Yeoman's house at Irb's Court in Somersetshire: from thence we went down to a meeting at Portshead, whither several friends of Bristol came to us. After this meeting we went further up into the country, and had several large meetings; and the Lord's living presence was with us, supporting and refreshing us in our labour and travel in his service.

We came to a place near Minehead, where we had a general meeting of the men friends in Somersetshire; and there came also a cheat, whom some friendly people would have had me to have taken along with me; I saw he was a cheat, and therefore bid them bring him to me, and see whether he could look me in the face. Some were ready to think I was too hard towards him, because I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me, he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he was indeed a cheat, and had cheated a priest by pretending himself to be a minister, and had got the priest's suit and went away with it.

After the meeting we passed to Minehead, where we tarried that night: and in the night I had an exercise upon me, from a sense I had of a dark spirit, that was working and striving to get up and to disturb the church of Christ; whereupon next morning I was moved to write a few lines to friends as a warning thereof, as follows:

‘ Dear friends,

‘ Live in the power of the Lord God, in his seed that is set over all, and is over all trials that you may have from the dark spirit again, which would be owned in its actings, and thrust itself amongst you, which is not come as yet; but in the power of the Lord God and his seed keep over it, and bring it to condemnation. For I felt a kind of dark spirit thrusting itself up towards you and heaving up last night; but you may keep it down with the power of God,

that the witness may arise to condemn its actings, so far as it hath spread its dark works before it have any admittance. So no more, but my love in the seed of God, which changeth not.'

G. F.

Minehead in Somersetshire,
the 22nd of the 4th month, 1668.

The next day several friends of Minehead accompanied us as far as Barnstaple and Appledon in Devonshire, where we had a meeting. Barnstaple had been a bloody, persecuting town: for there were two men friends of that town, that had been a great while at sea; and coming home to visit their relations (one of them having a wife and children) the mayor of the town sent for them, under pretence to discourse with them, and put the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to them. And because they could not swear, he sent them to Exeter jail, where judge Archer premunired them, and kept them till one of them died in prison. When I heard of this, I was moved to write a letter to judge Archer, and another to that mayor of Barnstaple, laying their wicked and unchristian actions upon their heads, and letting them know that the blood of that man would be required at their hands.

Now after we had had a precious meeting at Appledon among some faithful friends there, we passed to Stratton, and staid there at an inn all night. Next day we rid through the country to Humphrey Lower's, where we had a very precious meeting; and the next day we passed through to Truro, and so went on visiting friends till we came to the Land's-end. Then coming up by the south part of that county, we visited friends till we came to Tregangeeves, where at Loveday Hambley's we had a general meeting for all the county, in which the monthly meetings were settled in the Lord's power, and in the blessed order of the gospel; that all who were faithful might admonish and exhort such as walked not according to the gospel, that so the house of God might be kept clean, and righteousness might run down, and all unrighteousness be swept away. And several that had run out, were brought to condemn what they had done amiss, and through repentance came in again.

So after we had visited the meetings in Cornwall, and were clear of that county, we came into Devonshire, and had a meeting amongst friends at Plymouth. Whence passing to Richard Brown's, we came to the widow Philips, where we had some of men-friends from all the

meetings together; and there the men's monthly-meetings were settled in the heavenly order of the gospel, the power of God, which answered the witness of God in all. There was a great noise of a troop of horse coming to disturb our meeting (for the man-servant of the house was a wicked envious man;) but the Lord's power prevented it, and preserved us in peace and safety.

After things were well settled and the meeting done, we came to King's-bridge, and visited friends there-aways. Then (leaving friends in those parts well settled in the power of God) we passed from thence through the country to Topsham, and so to Membury, visiting friends, and having many meetings in the way, till we came to Ilchester in Somersetshire. Here we had a general men's meeting, and therein settled the men's monthly-meetings for that county in the Lord's everlasting power, the order of the gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was. Then after the meetings were settled, and friends refreshed and comforted in the Lord's power, and established upon Christ their rock and foundation, we passed to Puddimore, where at William Beaton's we had a blessed meeting, and all was quiet; though the constables had threatened before.

When we had visited most of the meetings in Somersetshire, we passed into Dorsetshire to one George Harris his house, where we had a large men's meeting; and there all the men's monthly-meetings for that county were settled in the glorious order of the gospel, that all in the power of God might seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away; and might cherish the good, and reprove the evil.

Then having visited the meetings of friends through the countries, we came to Southampton, where we had a large meeting on the first-day of the week. And from thence we went to one captain Reeves, where the general men's meeting for Hampshire was appointed, to which some of all the county came, and a blessed meeting we had. There the men's monthly-meetings for that county were settled in the order of the gospel, which had brought life and immortality to light in them.

But there came a rude company who were run into ranterism, and had opposed and disturbed our meetings much. One of them had lain with a man, and the man that had lain with her declared it at the market-cross, and gloried in his wickedness; these lewd people lived a company of them together, at a house hard by the place where our meeting was. Wherefore I went to the house and told

them of their wickedness; but the man of the house said, Why! did I make so strange of that? Another of them said, It was to stumble me. I told them, their wickedness should not stumble me, for I was above it. And I was moved of the Lord God to tell them, that the plagues and judgments of God would overtake them and come upon them. Afterward they went up and down the country, till at last they were cast into Winchester-jail, where the man that had lain with the woman aforesaid, stabbed the jailer, but not mortally. And after they were let out of jail, this fellow that had stabbed the jailer, hanged himself; the woman also had like to have cut a child's throat, (as we were informed.) These people had formerly lived about London; and when the city was fired, they prophesied that all the rest of London should be burnt within fourteen days, and hastened away out of town. Now though they were ranters, and were great opposers of friends and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some of the people of the world that did not know them, would be apt to say they were Quakers. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write a paper, to be dispersed amongst the magistrates and people of Hampshire, to clear friends and truth of these lewd people and their wicked actions.

Now after the men's monthly-meetings in those parts were settled, and we had visited friends, and the Lord's blessed power was over all, we went to a town where we had a meeting with friends. And from thence we came to Farnham, where we met many friends, it being the market-day; and we had many precious meetings up and down that country. Friends in those countries had formerly been plundered, and their goods much spoiled, both for tithes and for going to meetings; but the Lord's power at this time preserved both them and us from falling into the persecutor's hands.

We passed from thence and had a general men's meeting at a friend's house in Surrey, who had been plundered so extremely, that he had scarce a cow, horse, or swine, left. The constables threatened to come then and break up our meeting, but the Lord restrained them. At this meeting the men's monthly-meetings were settled in the authority of the heavenly power. And after we had visited friends in that country and had many large and precious meetings among them, we passed to a friend's house in Sussex, where the general meeting for the men friends of that county was appointed to be held, and thither came several friends from London to visit us. There we had a blessed

meeting; and the men's monthly-meetings for that county were then settled in the Lord's eternal power, the gospel of salvation, that all in it might keep to the order of the gospel. There were at that time great threatenings of disturbance, but the meeting was quiet. And afterward we passed from thence and had several large meetings in that county, though friends were then in great sufferings there, and many in prison. I was sent for to visit a friend that was sick, and went to see friends that were prisoners, and there was danger of my being apprehended; but I went in the faith of God's power, and thereby the Lord preserved me in safety.

Having visited friends through the country, we passed on into Kent, where after we had been at several meetings we had a general meeting for the men-friends of that county; there also the men's monthly-meetings for that county were settled in the power of God, and established in the order of the gospel, for all the heirs of it to enter into their services, and care in the church for the glory of God. And friends rejoiced in the order of the gospel, and were glad of the settlement thereof, which is not of man nor by man.

After this meeting was over, I visited friends in their meetings up and down in Kent; and when I had cleared myself of the Lord's service in that county, I came up to London. Thus were the men's monthly-meetings settled through the nation; for I had been in Berkshire before, where most of the ancient friends of that county were in prison, and when I had informed them of the service of these monthly-meetings, they were settled amongst them also. And the quarterly meetings were generally settled before. I writ also into Ireland by faithful friends, and into Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and other parts of America, advising friends to settle their men's monthly-meetings in those countries also. For they had their general quarterly meetings before; but now that truth was increased amongst them, they should settle those men's monthly-meetings in the power and spirit of God, that did at first convince them. And since the time these meetings have been settled, that all the faithful in the power of God, who be heirs of the gospel, have met together in the power of God, which is the authority of them to perform service to the Lord therein, many mouths have been opened in thanksgivings and praise, and many have blessed the Lord God that ever he did send me forth in this service; yes, with tears have many praised the Lord.

For now all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, that his name be not blasphemed, which they do profess, and to see that all who profess the truth do walk in the truth, in righteousness, and in holiness, which becomes the house of God, and that all order their conversations aright, that they may see the salvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exercised in his holy Power and Spirit, in the order of the heavenly life and gospel of Jesus, here they may all see and know, possess and partake of, the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise is set up in every one's heart that is faithful, so that we can now say that the gospel order established amongst us, is not of man nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost. And this order of the gospel, which is not of man, nor by man, but from Christ, the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apostatized Christians, and will be when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlasting gospel, was before the devil was, and will be and remain for ever. And as the everlasting gospel was preached in the apostles' days to all nations, that all nations might come into the order of it through the divine power, which brings life and immortality to light, that they who were heirs of it, might inherit the power and authority of it; so now, since all nations have drunk the whore's cup, and all the world hath worshipped the beast, (but they whose names are written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, who have worshipped God in spirit and truth, as Christ commanded) the everlasting gospel is to be, and is, preached again (as John the divine foresaw it should) to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people. And this everlasting gospel torments the whore, and makes her and the beast to rage, even the beast that hath power over the tongues, which are called the original, to order them, by which they make divines as they call them. But all that receive the gospel, the power of God, which brings life and immortality to light, they come to see over the beast, devil, whore, and false prophet, that hath darkened them and all their worships and orders, and come to be heirs of the gospel, the power of God, which was before the beast, whore, false prophet, and devil were, and will be when they are all gone and cast into the lake of fire. And they that be heirs of this power and of this gospel, they inherit the power which is the authority of this order, and of our meetings. Every man and woman

that be heirs of the gospel, are heirs of this authority and of the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which is not of man nor by man. These come to inherit and possess the joyful order of the joyful gospel, the comfortable order of the comfortable gospel, the glorious order of the glorious gospel, and the everlasting order of the everlasting gospel, the power of God which will last for ever, and will out-last all the orders of the devil, and that which is of men or by men. And these shall see the government of Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and of the increase of his glorious, righteous, holy, just government, there is no end, but his government and his order will remain; for he who is the author of it, is the first and the last, the beginning and ending, the foundation of God, which over all stands sure, Christ Jesus, the amen.

After I had travelled amongst friends through most parts of the nation, and the monthly meetings were settled, being returned to London, I staid some time there, visiting friends' meetings in and about the city. While I was in London I went one day to visit him that was called esq. Marsh, who had shewed much kindness both to me and to friends, and I happened to go when he was at dinner. He no sooner heard my name but he sent for me up, and would have had me sit down with him to dinner, but I had not freedom to do so. There were several great persons at dinner with him, and he said to one of them who was a great papist, Here is a Quaker, which you have not seen before. The papist asked me whether I did own the christening of children: I told him there was no scripture for any such practice. What, said he, not for christening children? I said, nay. I told him the one baptism by the one spirit into one body we owned, but to throw a little water on a child's face, and say that was baptizing and christening it, there was no scripture for that. Then he asked me whether I did own the catholick faith: I said yes, but added, that neither the pope nor the papists were in that catholick faith, for the true faith works by love, and purifies the heart, and if they were in that faith that gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead. So I undertook to prove that neither pope nor papists that held a purgatory hereafter were in the true faith; for the true, precious, divine faith, which Christ is the author of, gives victory over the devil and sin, that had separated man and woman from God. And if they the (papists) were in the true faith they would never use racks, prisons, and fines, to persecute and force others to

their religion, that were not of their faith; for this was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians, who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ, but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and heathens so to do. But, said I to him, seeing thou art a great and leading man among the papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the pope, and seeing thou sayest there is no salvation but in your church, I desire to know of thee what it is that doth bring salvation in your church: he answered, A good life. And nothing else, said I. Yes, he said, good works. And is this it that brings salvation in your church, a good life and good works. Is this your doctrine and principle said I. Yes, said he. Then said I, neither thou nor the pope, nor any of the papists know, what it is that brings salvation. Then he asked me what brought salvation in our church; I told him that which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, the same brought salvation to us, and not another: namely, the grace of God, which the scripture says brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men, which taught the saints then, and teaches us now; and this grace which brings salvation, teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly. So it is not the good works and the good life that brings the salvation, but the grace. What, said the papist, doth this grace that brings salvation appear unto all men: yes, said I. Then, said he, I deny that. But I said, All that deny that are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace and truth, which the apostles were in. Then he spake to me about the mother church, and I told him the several sorts of sects in Chrisendom had accused us, and said we forsook our mother church. The papists charged us with forsaking their church, and they said Rome was the only mother church. The episcopalians taxed us with forsaking the old protestant religion, and they said theirs was the reformed mother church. The presbyterians and independents blamed us for leaving them, and each of them said theirs was the right reformed church. But I said if we could own any outward city or place to be the mother church, we should own outward Jerusalem, where the gospel was first preached by Christ himself and his apostles, where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to Christianity by Peter was, where were the types, figures, and shadows, which Christ ended, and where Christ commanded his disciples to wait until they were endued with power from on high. So, if any outward place deserved to be called the mother, that was the place where the first great conversion to Christianity was. But the apostle saith, Gal. iv.

25, 26. "Jerusalem, which now is, is in bondage with her children: but Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice thou barren, that barest not; break forth, and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children, than she that hath an husband," verse 27. Now this we do see, that Jerusalem below (which was the highest place of worship) and all that be like her in profession without possession, have more children than the free woman that hath an husband, which is Jerusalem that is above, the mother of us all that be true Christians; so the apostle doth not say outward Jerusalem was the mother, though the first and great conversion to Christianity was there. And therefore there is less reason for the title [mother] to be given to Rome, or to any other outward place or city, by the children of Jerusalem, that is above and free; and they are not Jerusalem's children that is above and free, who give the title of mother either to outward Jerusalem or to Rome, or to any other place or sect of people. And though this title [mother] hath been given to places and sects amongst and by the degenerate Christians, yet still we say as the apostle said of old, Jerusalem that is above is the mother of us all: and we can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem, nor Rome, nor any sect of people for our mother, but Jerusalem which is above, which is free, the mother of us all that are born again, and become true believers in the light, and who are grafted into Christ the heavenly Vine. For all who are born again of the immortal Seed by the Word of God, which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the word, the breasts of life, and grow by it in life, and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother but Jerusalem which is above. Oh, said esq. Marsh to the papist, You do not know this man, if he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.

After some other discourse together, I went aside with this justice Marsh into another room, to speak with him concerning friends, for he was a justice of peace for Middlesex, and being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of matters upon him. Now when we two were alone together, he told me he was in a streight how to act between us and some other dissenters. For, said he, you cannot swear, and the independents, baptists, and fifth-monarchy people say also, they cannot swear; and therefore, said he, how shall I know how to distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say, it is for conscience sake that you cannot swear. Then, said I, I will shew thee how to distinguish, for they (or most of them) thou

speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows or horses, and thou shouldest ask them whether they would swear they were theirs, many of them would readily do it. But if thou try our friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore when thou putttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse; which if they be really of us they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth. Hereupon I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus: a thief stole two beasts from a friend of ours, the thief was taken and cast into prison, and the friend appeared against him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge that the man that prosecuted was a Quaker, and could not swear, the judge, before he heard what the friend could say, said, Is he a Quaker, and will he not swear? then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. So he cast the friend into prison and premunired him, and let the thief go at liberty that had stolen his goods. When I had related this case justice Marsh said, that judge was a wicked man. But, said I, if we could swear in any case we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that preserve every man in his estate. Whereas others that can swear in some cases to preserve a part of their estates, if they be robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to preserve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou mayest easily distinguish, and put a difference betwixt us and other people. This justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to friends in this and other cases, for he kept several, both friends and others from being premunired, in those parts where he was a justice. And when friends have been brought before him in the times of persecution, he set many of them at liberty, and when he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours, or for a night. At length he went to the king, and told him he had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more. Wherefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near St. James's Park. He told the king that if he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience that would quiet and settle all, for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy. And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year, and the Lord's truth came over all, and many that had been out from truth

came in again this year, confessing and condemning their former outgoings.

Now after I had staid some time in London, I went forth into the countries again, visiting friends in Surry and Sussex, and in other places that way, and afterwards travelled Northward, having Leonard Fell with me. We visited friends till we came to Warwick, where many friends were in prison, and we had a meeting in the town: after that I passed from thence to Birmingham and to Badgely; at Badgely I had a large meeting. After which I passed through the country visiting friends, till I came to Nottingham, where on the first day we had a precious meeting, but not without danger of being apprehended, the constables having threatened to take up friends about that time.

I passed on from thence visiting friends through the country, till I came to Balby, and so to York to the quarterly-meeting there; and a blessed meeting we had. Friends had in Yorkshire seven monthly meetings before; and they were so sensible of the service of them that they desired to have seven more added to them, for truth was much spread in that country. Accordingly in that quarterly meeting they were settled and established; so that whereas before they had but seven, now they have fourteen monthly meetings in that county.

It being the assize time at York, there I met with justice Hotham, a well-wisher to friends, and one that had been tender, and very kind to me at the first.

After I had finished my service for the Lord in York, I passed further up into the country, and as I went a great burden fell upon me, but I did not presently know the reason of it. So I came to a meeting on the first-day at one Shipton's, which was very large, but there being a meeting the same day at another place also, the priest of that place being misinformed that I was to be there, got a warrant, and made great disturbance at that meeting, of which Isaac Lindley, who was there, gave me an account by the following letter, thus:

G. F.

'When thou wentest from York, the first day after thou wast at Richard Shipton's, that day I had appointed a meeting ten miles from York, where there had not been a meeting before. But the priest and the constable got a warrant on the seventh day, and put thy name only in the warrant (for they had heard that thou wast to be there) and they came with weapons and staves, and cried, Where

is Mr. Fox? over and over, many friends being there, they concluded thou wast among them. But those raveners, being disappointed, plucked me down and abused me, and beat some friends, and then had me before a magistrate, but he set me at liberty.'

Isaac Lindley.

After the aforesaid meeting was done, I passed through the countries, visiting friends at Whitby and Scarborough. When I was at Scarborough, the governor hearing I was come to the town, sent to invite me to his house, saying, surely I would not be so unkind, as not to come and see him and his wife. Wherefore after the meeting was over I went up to visit him, and he received me very courteously and lovingly.

Now after I had visited most of the meetings in Yorkshire, and up to the Wolds and Holderness, I passed through the country till I came to Henry Jackson's, where I had a great meeting; and from thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to John Moor's at Eldreth, where we had a very large meeting; and the Lord's power and presence were eminently amongst us. Not far off from this place lay colonel Kirby, lame of the gout, who had threatened that if ever I came near, he would send me to prison again, and had bidden forty pounds to any man that could take me; as I was credibly informed.

After this meeting I passed through the countries till I came into Staffordshire, and so into Cheshire, where we had many large and precious meetings. I had a very large meeting at William Barns his house about two miles from Warrington; and although colonel Kirby was now got abroad again, as violent in breaking up meetings as before, and was then at Warrington; yet the Lord did not suffer him to come to this meeting, and so we were preserved out of his hands.

Now was I moved of the Lord to pass over into Ireland, to visit the seed of God in that nation; and there went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. We went near to Liverpool, and waited there for shipping and wind; and after we had waited some days, we sent James Lancaster to take passage, which he did, and brought word the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black Rock. Whereupon we went thither on foot, and it being pretty far, and the weather very hot, I was very much spent with walking. Yet when we came there, the ship was not there; so we were fain to go to the town, and take shipping there. When we

were come on board, I said to the rest of my company, Come, ye will triumph in the Lord, for we shall have fair wind and weather. There were many passengers in the ship, and many of them were sick, but not one of our company was sick: the master and many of the passengers were very loving, and we being at sea on the first-day of the week, I was moved to declare truth among them; whereupon the master said to the passengers, Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives. When we came before Dublin we took boat and went ashore, and the earth and air smelt, methought, with the corruption of the nation, so that it yielded another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the corruption, and popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended. We passed through among the officers of the custom four times, yet they did not search us, for they perceived what we were; and some of them were so envious they did not care to look at us. We did not presently find friends, but went to an inn, and sent out to inquire for some friends; who when they came to us were exceeding glad of our coming, and received us with great joy. We staid there the weekly-meeting, which was a great one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province-meeting which lasted two days, there being both a men's-meeting about the poor, and another meeting more general; in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared, and truth was livingly declared, and friends were much refreshed therein.

Passing from thence about four and twenty miles, we came to another place, where we had a very good refreshing meeting; but after the meeting was over, some papists that were there were angry and raged very much. When I heard of it I sent for one of them, who was a school-master, but he would not come at me. Whereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars and monks, priests and jesuits, to come forth and try their god and their christ, which they had made of bread and wine, but no answer could I get from them. Wherefore I told them, they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god as these did, and then make another.

We went to a place called New Garden, where was a great meeting; and from thence we travelled on among friends, till we came to Bandon Bridge and the Land's-

End, having many meetings as we went, in which the mighty power of the Lord was manifested, through which friends were well refreshed, and many people were affected with the truth. At Bandon, the mayor's wife being herself convinced, desired her husband to come to the meeting; but he bid her for her life, she should not make known that I was at a meeting there.

He that was then mayor of Cork was very envious against truth and friends, and had many friends in prison; and knowing that I was in the country, he had sent forth four warrants to take me, wherefore friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being at Bandon, there appeared unto me in a vision, a very ugly visaged man, of a black and dark look: my spirit struck at him in the power of God; and it seemed to me, that I rid over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face. When I came down in the morning, I told a friend that was with me, that the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork, but bid him tell no man. So we took horse, many friends being with me; and when we came near the town, the friends would have shewed me a way on the backside of the town, but I told them my way was through the streets. Wherefore taking one of them along with me (whose name was Paul Morrice) to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, the mayor seeing me ride by, said, there goes George Fox, but he had not power to stop me. When we had passed through the centinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a friend's house and alighted; and there the friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted forth to take me. While I was sitting there with friends, I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me, and I felt the power of the Lord strike at that evil spirit. By and by some other friends coming in told me, that it was over the town, and amongst the magistrates, that I was in the town; I said, let the devil do his worst. So after a while, that friends were refreshed one in another, and we who were travellers had refreshed ourselves, I called for my horse, and having a friend to guide me, we went on our way: but great was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me, and great pains they afterwards took to have taken me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads (as I understood) to observe which way I went. And afterwards there was scarce a public meeting I came to, but there came spies to watch if I were there:

and the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes and horse, so that when I was come near an hundred miles from Cork, they had an account concerning me, and description of me before I came amongst them. There was one very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, and he got a warrant from the judge of the assize to apprehend me; which warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near an hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their counsels, and defeated all their designs against me, and by his good hand of Providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit friends, and spread truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, friends coming to them far and near, and the world's people flocking in: and the powerful presence of the Lord was preciousely felt with and amongst us; whereby many of the world were reached, and convinced, and gathered to the truth, and the Lord's flock was increased, and friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh, the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and spirit of the Lord, many together have broken out into singing, even with audible voices, making melody in their hearts.

At which time I was moved to declare to friends there in the ministry, as followeth:

‘Sound, sound abroad, you faithful servants of the Lord, and witnesses in his name, and faithful servants and prophets of the Highest, and angels of the Lord! Sound ye all abroad in the world, to the awakening and raising of the dead, that they may be awakened and raised up out of the grave, to hear the voice that is living. For the dead have long heard the dead, and the blind have long wandered among the blind, and the deaf amongst the deaf; therefore sound, sound, ye servants and prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that you may awaken the dead, and awaken them that be asleep in their graves of sin, death and hell, and sepulchres, and sea, and earth, and who lie in the tombs. Sound, sound abroad, ye trumpets, and raise up the dead, that the dead may hear the voice of the Son of God, the voice of the second Adam, that never fell; the voice of the light, and the voice of the life; the voice of the power, and the voice of the truth; the voice of the righteous, and the voice of the just. Sound, sound the pleasant and melodious sound! Sound, sound,

ye the trumpets, the melodious sound abroad, that all the deaf ears may be opened to hear the pleasant sound of the trumpet to judgment and life, to condemnation and light. Sound, sound your trumpets all abroad, you angels of the Lord, sons and daughters, prophets of the highest, that all that are dead and asleep in the graves, and been long dreaming and slumbering, may be awakened, and hear the voice of the Lamb, who have long heard the voice of the beast; that now they may hear the voice of the Bridegroom, now they may hear the voice of the Bride, now they may hear the voice of the great Prophet, now they may hear the voice of the great King, now they may hear the voice of the great Shepherd, and the great Bishop of their souls. Sound, sound it all abroad, ye trumpets, among the dead in Adam, for Christ is come, the second Adam, that they might have life, yea have it abundantly. Awaken the dead, awaken the slumberers, awaken the dreamers, awaken them that be asleep, awaken them out of their graves, out of their tombs, out of their sepulchres, out of the seas! Sound, sound abroad you trumpets! you trumpets that awaken the dead, that they may all hear the sound of it in the graves, and they that hear may live, and come to the life that is the Son of God; he is risen from the dead, the grave could not hold nor contain him, neither could all the watchers of the earth, with all their guards, keep him therein. Sound, sound, ye trumpets of the Lord, to all the seekers of the living among the dead, that he is risen from the dead; to all the seekers of the living among the dead, and in the graves that the watchers keep, he is not in the grave, but he is risen; and there is that under the grave of the watchers of the outward grave, which must be awakened and come to hear his voice, which is risen from the dead, that they might come to live. Therefore sound abroad, you trumpets of the Lord, that the grave might give up her dead, and hell and the sea might give up their dead; and all might come forth to judgment, to the judgment of the Lord before his throne, and to have their sentence and reward according to their works.

G. F.

‘And sound, sound, all ye angels and faithful servants of the Most High, you trumpets of the Lord, amongst all the night watchers and watchers of the graves, sepulchres and tombs, and overseers of those watchers of the seas, graves and sepulchres, sound the trumpet amongst them and over them all; make the sound to be heard, that the dead may arise at the sound of the trumpet, that they may come out

of their graves, and live and praise the Lord; that all the dead in the seas, and all the dead in the tombs and sepulchres may hear the sound of the trumpet, and come to judgment, and come to hear the voice of the Son of God and live, in whom there is life.

‘Away with all the chaff and the husks, and contentions and strife, that the swine feed upon in the mire and in the fall; and the keepers of them of Adam and Eve’s house in the fall, that lies in the mire, out of light and life.’

G. F.

At James Hutchinson’s in Ireland there came many great persons, desiring to discourse with me about election and reprobation. I told them, though they judged our principle foolish, it was too high for them, and they could not with their wisdom comprehend it; therefore I would discourse with them according to their capacities. You say (said I) that God hath ordained the greatest part of men for hell, and that they were ordained so before the world began; for which your proof is in Jude. And you say Esau was reprobated, and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham; but Christ saith to his disciples, Go, teach all nations, and, go into all nations and preach the gospel of life and salvation. Now, if they were to go to all nations, were they not to go to Ham’s stock and Esau’s stock? Did not Christ die for all? then for the stock of Ham, and of Esau, and the Egyptians. Doth not the scripture say, God would have all men to be saved? Mark, all men, then the stock of Esau and of Ham also. And doth not God say, Egypt, my people? and that he would have an altar in Egypt? Isa. xix. Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? And doth not history say, that the bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been pope? And had not God a church in Babylon? I confess the word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel, the like was not to other nations. For the law of God was given to Israel, but the gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. The gospel of peace and glad tidings to all nations, he that believes is saved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already; so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some, that were of old ordained (or written of before) to condemnation, he doth not say before the world began; but written of old may be referred to Moses his writings, who writ of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Corah, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate. And such Christians as followed them in their way, and apostatized

from the first state of Christianity, such were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth which they are gone from. And though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau; yet he tells the believers, we all were by nature children of wrath as well as others: this includes the stock of Jacob (of which the apostle himself was and all believing Jews were;) and thus both Jews and Gentiles were all concluded under sin, and so under condemnation that God might have mercy upon all, through Jesus Christ. So the election and choice stands in Christ; and he that believes is saved, and he that believes not is condemned already: and Jacob is the second birth which God loved, and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again, before they can enter the kingdom of God. And when you are born again, ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ the seed before the world began, but the reprobation lies in the evil seed since the world began. After this manner, but somewhat more largely, I discoursed with those great persons about this matter, and they confest they had never heard so much before.

Now after I had travelled over that nation of Ireland, and had visited friends in their meetings, as well for business as for worship, and had answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and protestant priests (for they all were in a rage against us, and endeavoured to stop the work of the Lord; and some jesuits sware in some of our hearing, that we came to spread our principles in that nation, but we should not do it;) I returned to Dublin in order to take passage there for England. And when I had staid the first-day's meeting there (which was very large and precious) there being a ship ready and the wind serving, we took our leave of friends, parting in much tenderness and brokenness in the sense of the heavenly life and power, that was manifested amongst us. So having put our horses and necessities on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, many friends accompanying us to the ship; and divers, both friends and friendly people, coming after us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. A good, weighty, and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God and tender of his truth; and very good order they have in their meetings, for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up the way of wickedness; a precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them worthy to be visited. Many things more I could

write of that nation and of my travels in it, which would be large to mention particularly; but thus much I thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of truth.

James Lancaster, Robert Lodge, and Thomas Briggs came back with me; John Stubbs, having further service there, staid behind. We were two nights at sea; in one of which a mighty storm arose, that put the vessel in great danger, it rained and blew so hard. But I saw the power of God went over the winds and storms, he had them in his hand, and his power bound them. And the same power of the Lord God which carried us over, brought us back again, and in his life gave us dominion over all the evil spirits that opposed us there.

We landed at Liverpool, and went to the mayor's house, it being an inn; and after we had staid about a quarter of an hour in the house, we went to a friend's house about a mile out of the town, where we staid a while, and then went to Richard Johnson's. Whence departing the next day, we passed to William Barnes his house, and so to William Gandy's, visiting friends, and having many precious meetings in Lancashire and Cheshire. We bore towards Bristol; and when we came into Gloucestershire, we met with a report at Nailsworth, which was spread about that country, that George Fox was turned presbyterian; and that they had prepared a pulpit for him and set it in a yard, and that there would be a thousand people there the next day to hear him. I thought it strange that such a report should be raised of me; yet as we went further on, from one friend's house to another, we met with the same. We went by the yard where the pulpit was set up, and saw it, and went on to the place where friends' meeting was to be next day, and there we staid that night. Next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a very large meeting, and the Lord's power and presence were amongst us.

Now the occasion of this strange report (according as I was informed) was this; there was one John Fox, a presbyterian priest, who used to go about preaching, and some changing his name (as was reported) from John to George, gave out that George Fox had changed his religion, and was turned from a quaker to be a presbyterian, and would preach at such a place such a day. This begat so great a curiosity in the people, that many went thither to hear this quaker turned presbyterian, who would not have gone to have heard John Fox himself. By this means it was reported, they had got together above a thousand

people; but when they came there and perceived they had a trick put upon them, and that that was but a counterfeit George Fox, and understood withal that the real George Fox was hard by, at friends' meeting, there came several hundreds of them to our meeting, and were sober and attentive. I directed them to the grace of God in themselves, which would teach them and bring them salvation. And when the meeting was done, some of the people said, they liked George Fox the quaker's preaching better than George Fox the presbyterian's. Thus by my providential coming into those parts at that time was this false report discovered; and shame came over them that were the contrivers of it.

It was not long after this that this same John Fox was complained of in the House of Commons, for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treasonable words were spoken; which (according to the best information I could get of it) was thus. This John Fox had formerly been priest of Mansfield in Wiltshire; and being put out of that place, was afterward permitted by a common-prayer priest to preach sometimes in his steeple-house. At length this presbyterian-priest, presuming too far upon the parish-priest's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and would have preached there whether the parish priest would or no. This caused a great bustle and contest in the steeple-house between the two priests, and their hearers on either side; in which contest the common prayer-book was cut to pieces, and (as it was said) some treasonable words were then spoken by some of the followers of this John Fox, the presbyterian priest. This was quickly put in the news-book: and some malicious presbyterians caused it to be so worded as if it had proceeded from George Fox the quaker, when as I was above two hundred miles from the place when this bustle happened. But when I heard it I soon procured certificates from some of the members of the House of Commons, who knew this John Fox, and gave it under their hands that it was John Fox, who had formerly been parson of Mansfield in Wiltshire, that was complained of to the House of Commons to be the chief ring-leader in that unlawful assembly.

And indeed this John Fox was an ill man; for when some that had been followers and hearers of him came to be convinced of truth, and received the truth in their inward parts, and thereupon left following him, he coming to some of their houses to talk with them about it, and they telling him he was in the steps of the false prophets,

preaching for hire and filthy lucre, and was like them whom Christ cried wo against, and the apostles declared against, such as served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; and telling him Christ said, freely ye have received, freely give; and therefore he should not take money of people for preaching, especially now times were so hard; he replied, God bless preaching; for that brings in money, let times go how they will. And fill my belly with good victuals, and then call me false prophet, or what you will, and kick me about the house when ye have done, if ye will. This relation I had from a man and his wife (who had been formerly his hearers) whom this John Fox, with others, caused deeply to suffer. For he and some other presbyterian priests, using to resort to a widow-woman's house, who had the impropriation, and took the tithes of the parish, she told them there was a Quaker in that parish that would not pay her tithes, and asked counsel of them what she should do with him. They advised her to send workmen and cut down and carry away his corn; which (according to their counsel) she did, and thereby impoverished the man. But to proceed—

After this meeting in Gloucestershire was over, we travelled through that county till we came to Bristol, where I met with Margaret Fell, who was come to visit her daughter Yeomans there. I had seen from the Lord a considerable time before, that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing unto me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishing of it then. Wherefore I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord as before, according as the Lord led me, travelling up and down in this nation, and through the nation of Ireland. But now after I was come back from Ireland, and was come to Bristol, and found Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be now accomplished. And after we had discoursed the thing together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children; which she did. And when the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons in law, if they had any thing against it or for it, desiring them to speak; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I asked Margaret, if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children. She replied, the children knew that. Where-

upon I asked them, whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it. And I asked Margaret, whether she had done any thing in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children. The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of that. I told them I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself. So after I had acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before friends, both privately and publicly, to the full satisfaction of friends, many of whom gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose for the accomplishing thereof, in the public meeting-house at Broad-Mead in Bristol, we took each other in marriage, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life. In the sense whereof living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by friends, in the movings of the heavenly power which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient friends of that city, besides many other friends from divers parts of the nation.

After we were married, we stayed about a week in Bristol, and then went into the country together to Oldstone; where taking our leaves of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service, Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on into the countries in the work of the Lord, as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting friends; in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings.

Being in London, it came upon me to write to friends throughout the nation, about putting out poor children to trades. Wherefore I sent the following epistle to the quarterly meetings of friends in all counties:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ Let every quarterly meeting make inquiry through all the monthly meetings and other meetings, to know all friends that be poor, widows or others, that have children fit to set forth to apprenticeships, so that once a quarter you may set forth an apprentice from your quarterly meeting; and so you may set forth four in a year in each county as need may be, or more, if there be occasion. And this apprentice, when he comes out of his time, may help his

mother or father, and rear up the family that is decayed, and in so doing all may come to live comfortably as men. For being done in your quarterly meetings, ye will have knowledge through all the county in all the monthly and particular meetings, of masters that be fit for them, and of such trades as their parents desire, or you desire, or the children are most inclinable too; and so being placed forth as you shall order from your quarterly meetings to friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means in the wisdom of God, you may preserve friends' children in the truth, and enable them to rear up their decayed families, and be a strength and help to them, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days. And thus also things being ordered in the wisdom of God, you will take off a continual maintenance, and free yourselves from much cumber. For in the country ye know ye may set forth an apprentice for a little to several trades, as bricklayers or masons, carpenters, wheelrights, ploughrights, taylors, tanners, curriers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, naylers, butchers, and several other trades that might be named, as weavers of linen and woollen, stuffs and serges. And you may do well to have a stock in your quarterly meetings for that purpose; and all that is given by any friends at their decease (except it be given to some particular use, person, or meeting,) may be brought to the public stock for that same purpose. This will be a way for the preserving of many that are poor among you, and it will be a way of making up poor families. In several counties the same is practised already; and some quarterly meetings do set forth two apprentices, and sometimes they set forth children of the world that are laid on the parish; you may bind them for fewer or more years, according to their capacities. In all which things the wisdom of God will teach you, by which ye may come to help the children of poor friends, that they may come to rear up their families, and preserve them in the fear of God. So no more, but my love in the everlasting seed, by which ye will have wisdom to order all things to the glory of God.

G: F.

London, the first of the
11th month, 1669.

I stayed not long in London; but having visited friends, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, I passed down into Essex, and so into Hertfordshire, where I had many precious meetings. But before I went out of London, intending to go down as far

as Leicestershire, I writ a letter to my wife to acquaint her therewith, that if she found it convenient to her she might meet me there. From Hertfordshire I turned into Cambridgeshire, thence into Huntingdonshire, and so into Leicestershire; where, instead of meeting with my wife, I heard that she was haled out of her house and carried to Lancaster-prison again, by an order gotten from the king and council, to fetch her back to prison upon the old pre-munire, though she had been discharged from that imprisonment by an order from the king and council the year before. Wherefore having visited friends as far as Leicestershire, I returned by Derbyshire into Warwickshire, and so through the countries that way to London again, having had many large and blessed meetings in the several counties I passed through, and had been sweetly refreshed with and amongst friends in my travels.

As soon as I was got to London, I hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters) to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and see if they could get a full discharge for her, that she might enjoy her estate and liberty without molestation. This was somewhat difficult at first to get, but by diligent attendance on it they at length obtained it; the king giving command to one called Sir John Otway, to signify his pleasure therein by letter to the sheriff and others concerned therein in the country. Which letter Sarah Fell going down with her brother and sister Rous, carried with her to Lancaster, and by them I writ to my wife, as followeth.

‘My dear heart in the truth and life, that
changeth not,

‘It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the king concerning thy imprisonment, and to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went, and then they thought to have come down; but it was upon me to stay them a little longer, that they might follow the business till it was effected; which it now is, and is here sent down. The late declaration of mine hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it. So no more, but my love in the holy seed.’

G. F.

The declaration here mentioned was a printed sheet, writ upon occasion of a new persecution stirred up. For by that time I was got back out of Leicestershire to

London, a fresh storm was risen, occasioned (as it was thought) by that tumultuous meeting in a steeple-house in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, mentioned a little before; where a contest happening between a presbyterian priest and the priest of the parish, with their hearers on either side, the Common Prayer-book was cut to pieces, and other great disorders committed. From which (it was said) some members of parliament took advantage to get that act passed against seditious conventicles; which soon after came forth and was turned against us, who of all people were free from sedition and tumult. Whereupon I writ the declaration before mentioned, shewing from the preamble and terms of the said act, that we were not such a people, nor our meetings such meetings, as were described in that act. Beside that declaration, I writ also another short paper on the occasion of that act against meetings, opening our case to the magistrates, as followeth:

‘ O friends, consider this act which limits us to five, that but five may meet; is this to do as ye would be done by? Would ye be so served yourselves? We own Christ Jesus as well as you, both his coming, death, and resurrection, and if we be contrary-minded to you in some things, is not this the apostle’s exhortation, to wait till God hath revealed it. Doth not he say, what is not of faith is sin. And seeing we have not faith in things, which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us if we should do contrary to our faith? And why should any man have power over any other man’s faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? When the apostles did preach in the name of Jesus, and great multitudes heard them, and the rulers forbad them to speak any more in that name, did not they bid them judge whether it were better to obey God or man? Would not this act have taken hold of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples, for they met often together. And if there had been an act or law made then that not above five should have met with Christ, would not that have been an hindering him from meeting with his disciples? And do ye think that he (who is the wisdom of God) or his disciples would have obeyed it? If such a law had been made in the apostles’ days that not above five might have met together, who had been different-minded from either the Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches would have obeyed it? O therefore consider! for we are Christians,

and partake of the nature and life of Christ. And strive not to limit the Holy One, for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be quenched; and do unto all men as ye would have them do unto you; for that is the law and the prophets.'

This is from those who wish you all well, and desire your everlasting good and prosperity, who are called Quakers, who seek the peace and good of all people, though they do afflict us and cause us to suffer.

G. F.

Now as I had endeavoured to soften the magistrates, and to take off the sharpness of their edge in the execution of the act, so it was upon me to write a few lines to friends to strengthen and encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with Christian patience and content the suffering that was coming upon them. This I did in the following epistle:

'All my dear friends: keep in the faith of God above all outward things, and in his power that hath given you dominion over all. The same power of God is still with you to deliver you as formerly; for God and his power is the same, and his seed is over all, and before all, and will be when that which makes to suffer is gone. And so be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatsoever any doth against the truth, it will come upon themselves, and fall as a millstone on their heads. And if so be that the Lord do suffer you to be tried, let all be given up; and look at the Lord and his power, which is over the whole world, and will be when the world is gone. And in the Lord's power and truth rejoice, Friends, over that which makes to suffer in the seed, which was before it was; for the life and truth, and the power of God is over all. And all keep in that, and if ye do suffer in that, it is to the Lord. Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things, and now the Lord may try you, whether your minds be in the outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them? Therefore keep in the seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! shall not I pray and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? And let not any one's Dalilah shave his head, lest such lose their strength; neither rest in its lap, lest the Philistines be upon you. For your rest is in Christ Jesus, therefore rest not in any thing else.'

G. F.

London, the 12th of the
2d month, 1670.

On the first day of the week next after the act came in force, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep friends out of their meeting-house. I went thereupon to the other passage that goes out of Lombard-street, and there also I found a guard, but the court was full of people, and a friend was speaking amongst them; but spake not long. And when he had done I stood up, and was moved to say, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me; it is hard for thee to kick against that that pricks thee. Then I shewed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in his members now where he is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them. That it was the birth of the flesh that persecuted the birth born of the Spirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the sheep, but that we suffered as sheep that did not bite again; for we were a peaceable people, and did love them that persecuted us. After I had spoken a while to this effect, the constable came with an informer and soldiers, and as they plucked me down, I said, Blessed are the peace-makers. The commander of the soldiers put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, you are the man I looked for. They took also John Burneyate and another friend, and had us away first to the Exchange, and afterward towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate, and some of them laughed at the constable, and told him we would not run away. The informer went with us unknown, till falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, it would never be a good world till all people came to the old religion that was two hundred years ago. Whereupon I asked him, Art thou a papist? What! a papist informer; for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the papists. He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets I spake often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the mayor's house and were in the court-yard, several of the people that stood about, asked me how and for what I was taken; I desired them to ask the informer, and also know what his name was; but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him he should tell his name before he went away; for the Lord Mayor (he said) would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil

magistrate to execute, and not to the military. After this he was restless and eager to be gone, and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes? Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door, and slipped out. No sooner was he come into the street, but the people gave a shout, that made the street ring again, crying out, A papist informer! a papist informer! We desired the constable and soldiers to go forth, and rescue him out of the people's hands, fearing lest they should have done him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where they staid awhile, but when he went out again the people received him with such another shout; whereupon the soldiers were fain to go and rescue him once more, and then they had him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his perriwig, and so he got away unknown.

When the mayor came home we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats, which he perceiving, called to them, and bid them let us alone, and not meddle with our hats, for, said he, they are not yet brought before me in judicature. So we stood by while he examined some presbyterian and baptist teachers, with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought up to the table where he sate, and then the officers took off my hat; and the mayor said mildly to me, Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, said he, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them, and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God, why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four? I answered to this purpose: that Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name, but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name, how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name? I wished him to consider whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ with his twelve apostles and his seventy disciples (if it had been in their

time) who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers. However I told him this act did not concern us, for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under colour and pretence of religion, to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shewn; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. He said, the act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy. I told him, 'according to' was not the very same thing: and I asked him whether the liturgy was according to the scriptures; and whether we might not read scriptures and speak scriptures. He said, yes. I told him this act took hold only of such, as did meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shewn, but they had never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road must not honest men travel therefore? and because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that did meet to plot and contrive insurrections, &c. we might have drawn ourselves into fours, for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely one to another than four hundred could. Therefore, we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do: and, I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent. After this and some more discourse, he took our names and the places where we lodged, and at length, inasmuch as the informer was gone, set us at liberty.

Being set at liberty the friends that were with me asked me whither I would go, I told them to Gracechurch-street meeting again, if it were not over. When we came there the people were generally gone, only some few stood at the gate. We went into Gerrard Roberts's house, and from thence I sent out to know how the other meetings in the city were; and I understood that at some of the meeting-places friends were kept out, and at others they were taken, but set at liberty again a few days after. A glorious time it was, for the Lord's power came over all, and his everlasting truth got renown. For as fast as some that were speaking were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people, and the more, because many baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and came to see how the quakers would stand. As for the informer aforesaid, he was so frightened, that there durst hardly any informer appear pub-

licly again in London for some time after. But the mayor, whose name was Samuel Starling, though he carried himself smoothly towards us, proved afterwards a very great persecutor of our friends, many of whom he cast into prison, as may be seen in the books of the trials of W. Penn, W. Mead, and others at the Old Bailey this year.

After some time the heat of persecution in the city began to abate, and meetings were quieter there, and I, being then clear of the city, went to visit friends in the country, having several meetings as I went, in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, which were quiet, though in some places there was much threatening. At Reading most of the friends were in prison, and I went thither to visit them; and when I had been a while with them, the friends that were prisoners gathered together, and several other persons came in, so that I had a fine opportunity amongst them, and declared the Word of Life, encouraging them in the truth, and they were refreshed in feeling the presence and power of the Lord amongst them. When the meeting was ended, the jailer understanding that I was there, the friends were troubled and concerned how to get me out safe again, for they feared lest he should stop me. But after I had staid awhile and eaten with them, I went down the stairs, and the jailer being at the door, I put my hand in my pocket, which he had such an eye to, hoping to get something of me, that he asked me no question: so I gave him something, and bad him be kind and civil to my friends in prison, whom I came to visit; and he let me pass out without interruption. But soon after Isaac Pennington coming to visit them, he stopped him and caused him to be made a prisoner.

Next morning I rid about fourteen miles to a meeting, at a place called Baghurst in Hampshire, Thomas Briggs being with me. When we came into the parish some sober people came to us, and told us that the priest of the town was an envious man, and did threaten us. We went on to the meeting, which was large; and after some time Thomas Briggs stood up and spake. Now it seems the priest had got a warrant, and sent the constables and other officers with it; and they came to the house and staid awhile, and then went away again, but did not come into the meeting, so we in the meeting did not know of their being there. But after Thomas Briggs had done speaking, I was moved of the Lord to stand up, and declared the Word of Life to the people, and a precious meeting we had. When I had done speaking, and the meeting was ended and risen, I heard a great clutter in the yard, and when we came forth

the man of the house told us, that the officers had been in the house before, but did not come into the meeting, but went away without doing any thing; and that now the priest in a great rage had sent them again, and his own servant with them. But the meeting being ended before they came, they could do nothing now; and thus the good providence of the Lord preserved us from the wicked design of the envious priest, and out of his snare, but the priest was in a great rage.

From thence we went to a friend's house on the edge of Berkshire, where several friends came to visit us. And afterwards we passed into Surrey, visiting friends, and had many precious meetings, till we came to Stephen Smith's, near Guildford, where great persecution had been, and very much goods had been taken away from friends thereabouts for their meetings, and under great threatenings they were at that time; yet we had several blessed meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was over all, in and by which we were preserved.

We went out of Surrey into Sussex, by Richard Baxe's, where we had a large precious meeting, and quiet, though the constables had given out threatenings before. Afterwards I had many more meetings up and down in that county, and though there were some threatenings, yet meetings were peaceable, and friends were refreshed and established upon the foundation of God, that stands sure. When I had thoroughly visited Sussex I went into Kent, and had many glorious and precious meetings in several parts of that county. I went up into East Kent to a meeting near Deal, which was very large, and returning from thence to Canterbury, visited friends there, and then passed into the Isle of Sheppy, where I staid two or three days, and thither came Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, and John Rouse to me.

The next day after they came, finding my service for the Lord finished there, we passed away towards Rochester; and on the way, as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit; I got on my horse again, but the weight remained so heavy on me that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely loaden and burdened with the world's spirits, that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there, but could hardly either eat or sleep. The next day John Rouse and Alexander Parker went for London, and John Stubbs being come to me, he and I went over the ferry into Essex. We came to a place called

Hornchurch, where was a meeting on the first-day, and after the meeting I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, three miles from London, to a friend's house there whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceeding weak, and at last lost both my hearing and my sight, so that I could neither hear nor see. Several friends came thither to me from London, and I told them that I should be as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth. In this condition I continued a pretty while, and several people came about me, and though I could not see their persons, yet I felt and discerned their spirits, who of them was honest-hearted, and who was not. Divers friends that practised physic came to see me, and would have given me physic, but I was not to meddle with any of their medicines, for I was sensible I had a travail to go through, and therefore spake to friends to let none but solid, weighty friends be about me. And under great sufferings, and groanings, and travails, and sorrows, and oppressions, I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could have lived: and some that were with me went away, saying they would not see me die; and it was reported both in London and in the country, that I was deceased, but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me; and when they that were about me had given me up to die, I spake to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off, for I found it was my place to go thither. I had now recovered a little glimmering sight, so that I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all. When I came to Gerrard's he was very weak, and I was moved to speak to him and encourage him: and after I had staid about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield; friends were afraid of my removing, but I told them I might safely go. And when I had taken my leave of Gerrard and was come to Enfield, I went first to visit Amor Stoddart, who lay there very weak and almost speechless. I was moved to tell him, he had been faithful as a man, and faithful to God, and that the immortal seed of life was his crown. And with many more words I was moved to speak to him, though I myself was then so weak I was hardly able to stand: and within a few days after Amor died. I went to the widow Dry's at Enfield, and there I lay all that winter, warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world, that warred against truth and friends. For there were great persecutions at this time, some meeting houses were plucked down, and many were broken up by soldiers, who

would come, sometimes a troop of horse, or a company of foot, and they would break their swords, carbines, muskets, and pikes, with beating friends, and many friends they wounded, so that their blood lay in the streets. Amongst others that were active in this cruel persecution at London, my old adversary colonel Kirby was one, who with a company of foot went to break up several meetings, and he would often inquire for me at the meetings he brake up. But one time as he went over the water to Horsleydown, there happening some scuffle between some of his soldiers and some of the watermen, he bid his men fire at them, and they did so, and killed some.

But I was under great sufferings at this time, beyond what I have words to declare. For I was brought into the deep, and saw all the religions of the world, and people that lived in them, and the priests that held them up, who were as a company of men-eaters, eating up the people like bread, and gnawing the flesh from off their bones. But as for true religion and worship, and ministers of God, alack! I saw there was none amongst those of the world that pretended to it. For they that pretended to be the church, were but a company of men-eaters, men of cruel visages, and of long teeth, who, though they had cried against the men-eaters in America, yet I saw they were in the same nature. And as the great professing Jews did eat up God's people like bread, and the false prophets and priests then preached peace to people, so long as they put into their mouths and fed them, but if they fed them not, they prepared war against them, they ate their flesh off their bones, and chopped them for the cauldron, so these that profess themselves Christians now, (both priests and professors) and were not in the same power and spirit that Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in, were in the same nature that the old professing Jews were in, and were men-eaters as well as they. These stirred up persecution and set the wicked informers on work, so that a friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family, before they sate down to eat meat, but some were ready to inform against them. A particular instance of which I have heard as followeth :

At Droitwich John Cartwright came to a friend's house, and being moved of the Lord to speak a few words before he sate down to supper, there came an informer and stood hearkening under the window ; and when he had heard the friend speak, hoping to get some gain to himself, he went and informed, and got a warrant to distrain the friend's goods, under pretence that there was a meeting at his house,

whereas there was none in the house at that time, when the friend spoke before supper, but himself, the man of the house and his wife, and their maid servant. But this evil-minded man as he came back with his warrant in the night, fell off of his horse and broke his neck. So there was a wretched end of a wicked informer, who hoped to have enriched himself by spoiling friends; but the Lord prevented him, and cut him off in his wickedness and spoiled him.

Now, though it was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, yet the Lord's power went over all, and his everlasting seed prevailed, and friends were made to stand firm and faithful in the Lord's power; and some of the sober people of the world would say, if friends did not stand, the nation would run into debauchery.

And though by reason of my weakness, I could not travel about amongst friends as I used to do, yet in the motion of life I sent the following lines as an encouraging testimony amongst them:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ The seed is above all, in it walk, in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather, for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion. And all along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued, and the rage of the wicked and his fiery darts were quenched. And though the waves and storms be high, yet your faith will keep you to swim above them; for they are but for a time, and the truth is without time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holiness, ye who are led to it by the light, where nothing shall hurt: and do not think that any thing will outlast the truth, which standeth sure, and is over that which is out of the truth; for the good will overcome the evil, and the light darkness, and the life death, and virtue vice, and righteousness unrighteousness. The false prophet cannot overcome the true; but the true prophet, Christ, will overcome all the false. So be faithful, and live in that which doth not think the time long.’

G. F.

But after some time it pleased the Lord to allay the heat of this violent persecution; and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those men-eaters, that had stirred it up and carried it on to that height of cruelty, though I was outwardly very weak. And I plainly felt, and those friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, saw

and took notice, that as the persecution ceased I came from under the travails and sufferings, that had lain with such weight upon me; so that towards the spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down beyond the expectation of many, who did not think I could ever have gone abroad again, I had been so exceeding weak through the travail and exercise that was upon my spirit.

Whilst I was under this spiritual travail and suffering, the state of the city, New Jerusalem, which comes down out of heaven was opened to me, which some carnal-minded people had looked upon to be like an outward city or town, that had dropped out of the elements; but I saw the beauty and glory of it, the length, the breadth, and the height thereof, all in complete proportion. And I saw, that all who are within the light of Christ and in his faith, which he is the author of, and in the Spirit, the Holy Ghost, which Christ and the holy prophets and apostles were in, and within the grace and truth, and within the power of God (that was before the devil was) which was the walls of the city, such are within the city, such are members of this city, and have right to eat of the tree of life, which yields her fruit every month, and whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. But they that are out of the grace, out of the truth, out of the light, spirit and power of God; such as resist the Holy Ghost, quench, vex, and grieve the Spirit of God, and hate the light, and turn the grace of God into wantonness, and do despight to the Spirit of Grace; such as have erred from the faith and made shipwreck of it and of a good conscience, and abuse the power of God, and despise prophesying, revelation and inspiration, these are the dogs and unbelievers that are without the city; and these make up the great city Babylon, confusion, and her cage, the power of darkness, and the evil spirit of error surround and cover them over. And in this great city Babylon are the false prophets, in the false power and false spirit, and the beast in the dragon's power, and the whore that is gone a whoring from the spirit of God, and from Christ her husband; but the Lord's power is over all this power of darkness, cage, whore, beast, dragon, false prophets and their worshippers, who are for the lake which burns with fire. Many things more did I see concerning the heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, which are hard to be uttered, and would be hard to be received. But in short, this holy city is within the light, and all that are within the light are within the city, the gates whereof stand open all the day, (for there is no night there) that all may come in; and Christ's blood

desire their eternal welfare. But if they will not hear, then the day of judgment and of sorrow, of torment and misery, and sudden destruction will come from the Lord upon them, that have been the cause of the sufferings of many thousands of simple, innocent, harmless people that have done them no hurt, nor have had any ill-will towards him or them, but have desired their eternal good for the eternal truth's sake; destruction will come upon them that turn the sword backward. Therefore do not blind your eyes, the Lord will bring swift destruction and misery upon you; surely he will do it, and will relieve his innocent people, who have groaned for deliverance from under your oppression, and have also groaned for your deliverance out of wickedness. Blessed be the Lord God, that he hath a people in this nation, that seeks the good of all men upon the face of the earth; for we have the mind of the Lord Jesus Christ, that desires not the death of a sinner, but the salvation and good of all: blessed be the name of the Lord our God for ever.'

G. F.

While I continued at Enfield, a sense came upon me of an hurt that sometimes happened, by persons coming under the profession of truth out of one country into another, to take an husband or wife amongst friends where they were strangers, and it was not known whether they were clear and orderly, or no. And it opened in me to recommend the following method unto friends for preventing such inconveniences; whereupon I writ the following lines:

'All friends that do marry, whether they be men or women, if they come out of another nation, island, plantation or county, let them bring a certificate from the men's-meeting of that county, nation, island or plantation from which they came, to the men's-meeting where they do propound their intention of marriage; for the men's-meeting being made up of the faithful, this will stop all bad and raw spirits from roving up and down. And then when any come with a certificate, or letter of recommendation from one men's-meeting to another, one is refreshed by another, and can set their hands and hearts to the thing; and this will take away a great deal of trouble. And then what ye have to say to them in the power of God, in admonishing and instructing them, ye are left to the power and spirit of God to do it, and to let them know the duty of marriage and what it is; that there may be an unity and a concord in the spirit, and power, and light and wis-

dom of God, throughout all the men's-meetings in the whole world, in one, in the life. Let copies of this be sent to every county, and nation, and island where friends are, that so all things may be kept holy and pure, and righteous, in unity and peace; and God over all may be glorified among you, his lot, his people and inheritance, who are his adopted sons and daughters, and heirs of his life. So no more, but my love in that which changeth not.'

G. F.

The 14th of the first month, 167^o₇

When I had recovered so much strength that I could walk a little up and down, I went from Enfield to Gerrard Roberts's again, and from thence to the women's school at Shacklewell, and so to London to the meeting at Gracechurch Street; where though I was yet but weak, yet the Lord's power upheld and enabled me to declare his eternal word of life.

And about this time I was moved to pray to the Lord as followeth:

'O Lord God Almighty! prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land, and bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falshood, and cruelty and unmercifulness in the land; and that mercy and righteousness may flourish!

'And, O Lord God! establish and set up verity, and preserve it in the land; and bring down in the land all debauchery and vice, and whoredoms and fornication, and this raping spirit which causeth and leadeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God! nor their own souls or bodies, nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

'And, O Lord! put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, and violence, and cruelty, prophaneness, cursing and swearing; and to put down all these whore-houses and play-houses, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come; but such works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.'

G. F.

This prayer was written the 17th day at night, of the 2d month, 1671.

I mentioned before, that upon the notice I received of my wife's being had to prison again, I sent two of her daughters to the king, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge. But though I expected she would have been set at liberty thereby, yet this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on upon it, the persecutors there did not release her, but found means to hold her still in prison. But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher and another woman friend, to go to the king about her liberty. They went in the faith, and in the Lord's power, and the Lord gave them favour with the king, so that he granted a discharge under the broad-seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years a prisoner and perimured; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by a friend; by whom also I wrote to her, both to inform her how to get it delivered to the justices, and also to acquaint her that it was upon me from the Lord, to go beyond the seas to visit the plantations in America; and therefore desired her to hasten up to London, as soon as she could conveniently, after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the mean time I got down to Kingston, and staid at John Rouse his house till my wife came up, and then I began to prepare for the voyage. But the yearly meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over: a very large meeting it was, for many friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious everlastingly renowned seed of life was exalted above all.

Now after this meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord here in England, the ship also and the friends that intended to go with me being ready, I went down to Gravesend on the 12th day of the sixth month, my wife and several friends accompanying me to the Downs. We went from Wapping in a barge to the ship, which lay a little below Gravesend, and there we found the friends that were bound for the voyage with me, who went down to the ship the night before. Their names were Thomas Brigges, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Eliz. Miers. The vessel we were to go in was a yatch, and it was called the Industry; the master's name was Thomas Forster, and the number of

passengers about fifty. I lay that night on board, but most of the friends lay at Gravesend. Early next morning the passengers and those friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderness of those friends that came with us to Gravesend only, and were to return from thence, and set sail about the sixth hour in the morning for the Downs; and having a fair wind, we out-sailed all the ships that were outward bound, and got thither by the evening. Some of us went a-shore that night and lodged at Deal, where we understood that an officer had order from the governor to take our names in writing; which he did the next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Gravesend. In the afternoon the wind serving, I took my leave of my wife and the other friends, (both that came down from London with us, and that came from Dover and other parts of the country to visit us,) and went on board. But before we could set sail, there being two of the king's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them sent his press-master on board us, who took off three of our seamen. This had certainly delayed, if not wholly lost, our voyage, had not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakiness of our vessel and length of our voyage, in compassion and much civility spared us two of his own men. And before this was over an officer of the Custom-house came on board us to peruse packets and get fees; so that what with the one and the other, we were kept from sailing till about sun-set, during which stop a very considerable number of merchant-men outward bound, were got several leagues before us. But being now clear we set sail in the evening, and by next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We soon reached the rest, and in a little time left them all behind us; for our yatch was counted a very swift sailer. But she was very leaky, so that the seamen and some of the passengers did for the most part pump day and night. One day they observed that in two hours time she sucked in sixteen inches of water in the well.

When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we espied a vessel about four leagues a stern of us. Our master said it was a Sallee-man of war, and he seemed to give us chase. Our master said, come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him; but this he spake to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in

God, and no fear upon their spirits. When the sun was gone down, I saw the ship out of my cabin, and I saw she made towards us. When it grew dark we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also and gained upon us. At night the master and others came into my cabin and asked me what they should do. I told them, I was no mariner; and I asked them what they thought was best to do. They said, there were but two ways, either to outrun him, or tack about, and hold the same course we were going before. I told them, if he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we. Then they asked me again what they should do; for (they said) if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did. I told them, it was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel. So retiring in spirit, the Lord shewed me that his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course. I wished them also to put out all their candles but that they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. About the 11th hour in the night the watch called and said they were just upon us. That disquieted some of the passengers; whereupon I sate up in my cabin, and looking through the port-hole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin; but remembering the word of the Lord, that his life and power was placed between us and them, I lay down again. The master and some of the seamen came again, and asked me if they might not steer such a point. I told them they might do as they would. By this time the moon was gone quite down, and a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; and we sailed briskly on and saw them no more. The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship (as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage,) and the Lord's presence was greatly among us. And I desired the people to mind the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time had not the Lord's hand saved them. About a week after the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers, that it was not a Turkish pirate that chased us, but a merchantman going to the Canaries. But when I heard of it, I asked them, why then did they

speaking so to me; and why did they trouble the passengers; and why did they tack about from him and alter their course? And I told them they should take heed of slighting the mercies of God.

Afterwards, while we were at Barbadoes, there came in a merchant from Sallee, and told the people, that one of the Sallee-men of war saw a monstrous yatch at sea, the greatest that ever he saw, and had her in chase, and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take. This did confirm us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

I was not sea-sick during the voyage, as many of the friends and other passengers were; but the many hurts and bruises I had formerly received, and the griefs and infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardships that I had undergone in many long and sore imprisonments, returned upon me now that I came to sea, so that I was very ill in my stomach, and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs. This was after I had been at sea about a month; for during the space of about three weeks after I came first to sea I sweat abundantly, chiefly my head, and my body brake out into pimples, and my legs and feet swelled extremely, so that my stockings and slippers could not be drawn on without difficulty and great pain. Then on a sudden the sweating ceased. So that when I came into the hot climate, where others sweat most freely, I could not sweat at all, but my flesh was hot, dry, and burning; and that which before brake out on my body into pimples struck in again, and struck to my stomach and heart, so that I was very ill and weak beyond expression. Thus I continued during the rest of the voyage, which was about a month; for we were seven weeks and some odd days at sea.

On the third of the eighth month early in the morning, we discovered the Island of Barbadoes, but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle-bay. We got on shore as soon as we could, and I, with some others, walked to a friend's house, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from the bridge. But being very ill and weak, I was so tired with that little walk, that I was in a manner quite spent by that time I got thither. There I abode very ill for several days, and was so far from sweating, though in that hot climate, that although they several times gave me things to make me sweat, yet they could not bring me to sweat; but what they gave me did rather parch and dry up my

body, and made me probably worse than otherwise I might have been. Thus I continued for about three weeks after I landed, having very much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, so that I could hardly get any rest; yet notwithstanding I was pretty cheary, and my spirit kept above it all. Neither did my illness take me off from the service of truth, but both while I was at sea and after I came to Barbadoes, before I was able to travel about, I gave forth several papers (having a friend to write for me), some of which I sent by the first conveyance for England to be printed.

After I had rested three or four days at Richard Forstall's, where many friends came to visit me, John Rous having borrowed a coach of one of his acquaintance there (called colonel Chamberlain) came to fetch me in it to his father Thomas Rous's house; but it was late ere we could get thither, and little or no rest could I take that night. A few days after that, colonel Chamberlain, who had so kindly lent his coach, came thither to give me a visit, and carried himself very courteously towards me.

Soon after I came into the island, I was informed of a remarkable passage, wherein the justice of God did eminently appear; it was thus: There was a young man of Barbadoes, whose name was John Drakes (a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer and a bad man,) who having been in England, and at London, had a mind to marry a young maid, that was a friend's daughter, left by her mother very young and with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several friends, whereof I was one. He made his application to me that he might have my consent to marry this young maid. I told him, I was one of her overseers appointed by her mother (who was a widow) to take care of her, that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of the world, she would have disposed her accordingly; but she committed her to us that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and therefore I should betray the trust reposed in me if I should consent that he who was out of the fear of God should marry her; which I would not do. When he saw that he could not obtain, he returned to Barbadoes with great offence of mind against me, but without just cause. Afterwards when he heard I was coming to Barbadoes, he swore desperately, and threatened, that if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there. Which a friend hearing, asked him what I had done to him that he was so violent against me. He would not answer, but

said again, I'll have him burnt. Whereupon the friend replied, Do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end. About ten days after this, he was struck with a violent burning fever, of which he died, and by which his body was so scorched, that the people took notice of it, and said it was as black as a coal. And three days before I landed his body was laid in the dust, and it was taken notice of as a sad example.

While I continued thus weak, that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other friends that came over with me, bestirred themselves in the Lord's work; for the next day but one after we came on shore, they had a great meeting at the bridge, and after that several meetings in several parts of the island; which alarmed the people of all sorts, so that many came to our meetings, and some of the chiefest rank. For they had got my name, understanding I was come upon the island, and expected to have seen me at those meetings, not knowing that I was weak and unable to go abroad. And indeed, my weakness continued the longer on me, by reason that my spirit was much pressed down at the first with the filth and dirt and unrighteousness of the people, which lay as an heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the island, my spirit became somewhat easier, and I began to recover in some measure my health and strength, and to get abroad among friends. In the mean time, having opportunity to send for England, I wrote to friends there, to let them know how it was with me, as followeth:

‘ Dear friends,

‘ I have been very weak these seven weeks past, and so not able to write myself. My desire is to you and for you all, that ye may live in the fear of God, and in love one unto another, and be subject one to another in the fear of God. I have been weaker in my body than ever I was in my life that I remember, yea, my pains have been such as I cannot express; but yet my heart and spirit is strong. I have hardly sweat these seven weeks past, though I am come into a very hot climate, where hardly any but are well nigh continually sweating; but as for me, my old bruises, colds, numbness, and pains, struck inwardly, even to my very heart. So that little rest I have taken, and the chiefest things that were comfortable to my stomach, were a little water and powdered ginger; but now I begin to drink a little beer as well as water, and sometimes a little wine and water mixed. Great pains and travails I have felt, and in measure am under; but it is well, my life is

over all. This island was to me as all of a fire, ere I came to it, but now it is somewhat quenched and abated. I came in weakness amongst those that are strong, and have so continued, but now am got a little cheary and over it; many friends (and some considerable persons of the world) have been with me. I tired out my body much when amongst you in England; it is the Lord's power that helps me; therefore I desire you all to prize the power of the Lord and his truth. I was but a weak man in body when I came away from you, after I had been in my great travail amongst you, but after that, it struck all back again into my body, which was not well settled after so sore travails in England. And then was I so tired at sea that I could not rest, and have had little or no stomach a long time. Since I came into this island, my life hath been very much burdened; but I hope, if the Lord give me strength to manage his work, I shall work thoroughly, and bring things that have been out of course, into better order. So dear friends, live all in the peaceable truth, and in the love of it, serving the Lord in the newness of life; for glorious things and precious truths have been manifested among you plentifully, and to you the riches of the kingdom have been reached. I have been almost a month in this island, but have not been able to go abroad or ride out; only very lately I rode out twice, a quarter of a mile at a time, which wearied me much, and almost tired me. My love in the truth is to you all.

G. F.

Now because I was not yet well able to travel, the friends of the island concluded to have their men's meeting and their women's meeting for the service of the church at Thomas Rous's, where I lay, by which means I was present amongst them at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, and divers disorders were crept in for want of care and watchfulness. Wherefore I exhorted them (more especially at the men's meeting) to be watchful and careful with respect to marriages, to prevent friends marrying in near kindreds, and also to prevent over-hasty proceedings toward second marriages, after the death of a former husband or wife; advising that a decent regard were had in such cases, to the memory of the deceased husband or wife. And as to friends' children marrying too young, as at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I shewed them the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniences and hurts that attend such childish marriages.

And I admonished them all to purge the floor thoroughly, and to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile; and that all should take care that nothing be spoken out of their meetings to the blemishing or defaming one of another. Likewise concerning registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such of them as returned again. Also I recommended to their care, the providing of convenient burying places for friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by friends for public uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the church. Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well them that were bought with their money, as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so with Joshua they might (every master of a family) say, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings by the Spirit and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

After these meetings were over, the vessel that was bound for England not being yet gone, I was moved to write another epistle to friends there, the copy whereof here follows:

' Dear friends and brethren, to whom is my love in that which never changeth, but remains in glory, which is over all, the top and corner-stone: in this all have peace and life as ye dwell in the blessed seed, wherein all is blest over that which brought the curse, where all shortness and narrowness of spirit is, and brittleness and peevishness is. Therefore keep the holy order of the gospel, and keep in this blessed seed, where all may be kept in temperance, in patience, in love, in meekness, in righteousness and holiness, and in peace, in which the Lord may be seen amongst you, and no ways dishonoured, but glorified by you all.

And so in all your meetings in cities, towns and countries, men's-meetings, women's-meetings and others, let righteousness flow among you, and the holy truth be uppermost, and the pure Spirit your guide and leader, and the holy wisdom your orderer, that is pure and gentle, and from above, and easy to be entreated. So keep in the religion that keeps from the spots of the world, which is pure and undefiled in God's sight; and keep in the pure and holy worship, in which the pure and holy God is worshipped, to wit, in the Spirit and in the truth, which the devil is out of, who is the author of all unholiness and of dishonouring of God; so be all tender of God's glory, and tender of his honour, and of his blessed and holy name in which ye are gathered. And all who do profess the truth, see that ye walk in it, and in righteousness, and godliness, and holiness; for holiness becomes the house of God, the household of faith. And that which becomes God's house God loves; for he loves righteousness, and that is the ornament which becomes his house and all his family. Therefore see that righteousness do run down in all your assemblies, and that it flow to drive away all the unrighteousness; this preserves your peace with God, for in righteousness ye have all peace with the righteous God of Peace, and one with another. And so every one that bears the name of the anointed, that high title of being a Christian, named after the Heavenly Man, see that ye be in the divine nature, and made conformable unto his image, even the image of the Heavenly Divine Man, who was before that image which Adam and Eve got in the fall, from the devil; so that in none of you that fallen image may appear or be seen, but his image, and you made conformable unto him. Here translation is shewed forth in life and conversation, not in words only, yea, and conversion and repentance (which is a change of the nature of the mind and of the heart, and of the spirit and affections, which have been below, which come to be set above;) and so receive the things that are from above, and have the conversation in heaven above, not that conversation which is according to the power of the prince of the air, that now rules in the disobedient. So all be faithful; this is the word of the Lord God unto you all; see that godliness do flow, and holiness, and righteousness, and truth, and virtue, and the fruits of the good spirit over the bad and its fruits, that ye may answer that which is of God in all; for your heavenly Father is glorified in that you bear and bring forth much fruit to God. Therefore ye who are plants of his planting, and his trees of righteousness, see that every tree be full

of fruit. And all keep in the true humility, and in the true love of God, which doth edify his body, that the true nourishment from the head, the refreshings, and springs, and rivers of water, and bread of life, may be plenteously known and felt amongst you; that so praises may ascend to God. So all be faithful to the Lord God, and just and true in all your dealings and doings with and towards men. And be not negligent in your men's meetings to admonish, and to exhort, and to reprove in the spirit of love and of meekness, and to seek that which is lost, and to bring back again that which hath been driven away. So let all minds, and spirits, and souls, and hearts, be bended down under the yoke of Christ Jesus, the power of God. Much I could write, but am weak, and have been very weak mostly since I left you; and burdens and travails I have been under and gone through many ways, but it is well. And the Lord Almighty knows my work, which he hath sent me forth to do by his everlasting arm and power; which is from everlasting to everlasting, blessed be his holy name, which I am in, and in which my love is to you all.'

G. F.

After I had recovered so much strength that I was able to go abroad, and had been a little amongst friends, I went to visit the governor at his house, Lewis Morice, Thomas Rouse, and some other friends being with me. And indeed he received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly, making us dine with him; and keeping us most part of the day before he let us go away.

The same week I went down to the Bridge-town, (where I had not been before, save as I passed through it, when I first came into the island.) There was to be a general meeting of friends that week; and the visit I had newly made to the governor, and kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, both civil and military, there came many of them to this meeting from most parts of the island, and those not of the meanest rank, divers of them being judges or justices, colonels or captains; so that a very great meeting we had, both of friends and others. The Lord's blessed power was plentifully with us in this meeting; and although I was somewhat straightened for time, three other friends having spoken before me, yet the Lord opened things through me to the general and great satisfaction of them that were present. Colonel Lewis Morice came to this meeting, and with him a neighbour of his, a judge in the country, whose name

was Ralph Fretwell, who was very well satisfied with the meeting, and received the truth.

After the meeting I went home with Lewis Morice to his house that night, being about nine or ten miles, going part of the way by boat, the rest on horseback; this place, where Lewis Morice his plantation was, I thought to be the finest air of the island. The next day Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson came thither to see me, they intending to leave the island the day following, and to go upon the Lord's service to Antigua and Nevis. Lewis Morice went with them; and at Antigua they had several good meetings, to which there was a great resort of people, and many were convinced there at that time. But when they had finished their service there, and went thence to Nevis, the governor of Nevis, who was an old persecutor, sent soldiers on board the vessel to stop them from coming on shore; and would not suffer them to land. Wherefore after friends of the place had been on board the vessel and with them, and they had been sweetly refreshed together in feeling the Lord's power and presence amongst them, they returned to Antigua again; where having staid a while longer, they came back again to Barbadoes, Tho: Briggs being very weak and ill.

Of the other friends that came over with me from England, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison, were gone some time before to Jamaica, and others to other places, so that few remained in Barbadoes with me; yet we had many great and precious meetings, both for worship and for the affairs of the church, to the former of which many of the world came. At one of these meetings there came (amongst others) one colonel Lyne, a sober person, who was so very well satisfied with what I declared, that he afterward said, Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say you do not own Christ, nor that he died; whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what I have ever heard before. This man observing one to take in writing the heads of what I delivered, desired him to let him have a copy of it, and afterward staid another day with us before he went away; so great a love was raised in him to the truth. And indeed a very great conviction there was in most parts of the island; which made the priests and some professors fret and rage. Our meetings were very large and full, and free from disturbance from the government, though the envious priests and professors endeavoured to stir up the magistrates against us. And when

they found they could not prevail that way, some of them that were baptists, came to the meeting at the town, which was very large, and full of people of several ranks and qualities. A great company came also with them; and they brought with them a malicious slanderous paper, written by John Pennymen, with which they made a great noise. But the Lord gave me wisdom and utterance to answer their cavils; so that the auditory generally received satisfaction, and those quarrelsome professors lost ground by their coming. When they had wearied themselves with clamour they went away; but the people staying, the meeting was continued, and the things they cavilled about were further opened and cleared; and the life and power of God came over all. But the rage and envy in our adversaries did not cease, but they endeavoured to defame friends with many false and scandalous reports which they spread abroad through the island. Whereupon I, with some other friends, drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing truth and friends from those false reports. It was directed thus:

For the Governor of Barbadoes, with his Council and Assembly and all others in power, both civil and military, in this Island, from the people called Quakers.

‘Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us to render us odious, as that we do deny God, and Christ Jesus, and the scriptures of truth, &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, do clearly testify the contrary. Yet notwithstanding, for your satisfaction, we do now plainly and sincerely declare, that we do own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the creator of all things both in heaven and in the earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made, who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore! And we do own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or

dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him. And we do own and believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. And that he was crucified for us in the flesh without the gates of Jerusalem, and that he was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and we do believe that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who, we believe, tasted death for every man, and shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world; according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world," Joh. i. 29. We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the Captain of our Salvation, (who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works;) who is the seed of the woman, that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. That he is (as the scriptures of truth say of him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification, and redemption, neither is there salvation in any other; for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. It is He alone who is the shepherd and bishop of our souls; He it is who is our prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you; and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people," Acts ii. 22, 23. He it is that is now come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true, and he rules in our hearts by his law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death, and we have no life but by him; for he is the quickening Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God. And he is our mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending, He being the oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace; the author and finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly Man, the Emanuel, God with us, we

all own and believe in; him whom the high-priest raged against, and said he had spoken blasphemy, whom the priests and the elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason, who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach an horrible lie, namely, that his disciples came and stole him away by night, whilst they slept. And after he was risen from the dead, the history of the acts of the apostles sets forth, how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

‘And as concerning the holy scriptures, we do believe that they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who, (as the scripture itself declares, 2 Pet. i. 21.) spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled (he that fulfils them, is Christ); and they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, 2 Tim. iii. 16.; and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. And we do believe that the holy scriptures are the words of God, for it is said in Exodus xx. 1. God spake all these words, saying, &c. meaning the ten commandments given forth upon Mount Sinai. And in Rev. xxii. 18. saith John, I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy (not the word) &c. So in Luke i. 20. Because thou believest not my words. And so in John v. 47. and John xv. 7. John xiv. 23. John xii. 47. So that we call the holy scriptures as Christ and the apostles called them, and holy men of God called them, viz. the words of God.

‘Another slander and lie they have cast upon us, namely, that we should teach the negroes to rebel; a thing we utterly abhor and detest in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the searcher of all hearts, and knows all things, and so can witness and testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. For that which we have spoken and declared to them is, to exhort and admonish them to be sober, and to fear God, and to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their masters’ service and business; and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them.

And that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands, neither should the men have many wives. And that they should not steal, nor be drunk, nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curse, nor swear, nor lie, nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one else: for there is something in them that tells them, they should not practise those nor any other evils. But if they notwithstanding should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven, where the righteous go, and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers and adulterers, murderers and liars go. To the one the Lord will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;" but to the other he will say, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:" so the wicked go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal, Matt. xxv. Now consider, friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for some others to do it in his behalf, but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so; of the first we read, the Lord said (Gen. xviii. 19), "I know that Abraham will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him." And the latter, we read, said (Joshua xxiv. 15.) "Chuse ye this day, whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." We do declare that we do esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct, and admonish those, in and belonging to our families, this being a command of the Lord, the disobedience whereunto will provoke the Lord's displeasure, as may be seen in Jer. x. 25. "Pour out thy fury upon the heathen, that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name." Now negroes, tawnies, indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island, for whom an account will be required by him who comes to judge both quick and dead, at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil: at that day, I say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the bad, of the just and the unjust, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting

destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day. 2 Thess. i. 8. &c. See also 2 Pet. iii. 3. &c.

‘This wicked slander (of our endeavouring to make the negroes rebel) our adversaries took occasion to raise from our having had some meetings with and amongst the negroes; for both I and other friends had several meetings with them in several plantations, wherein we exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety, and to be subject to their masters and governors, which was altogether contrary to what our envious adversaries maliciously suggested against us.’

As I had been to visit the governor as soon as I was well able after I came thither; so sometime after, when I was at Thomas Rouse’s, the governor came thither to see me, carrying himself very courteously.

Having now been three months or more in Barbadoes, and in that time having visited friends, thoroughly settled meetings, and dispatched that service for which the Lord brought me thither; I felt my spirit clear of that island, and drawings to Jamaica; which when I had communicated to friends, I acquainted the governor also, and divers of his council, that I intended shortly to leave the island and go to Jamaica; which I did, that as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be. But before I left the island I writ the following letter to my wife, that she might understand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels:

‘My dear Heart,

‘To whom is my love, and to all the children in the Seed of Life that changeth not, but is over all; blessed be the Lord for ever. I have gone under great sufferings in my body and spirit, beyond words; but the God of heaven be praised, his truth is over all. I am now well; and if the Lord permit, within a few days I pass from Barbadoes towards Jamaica, and I do think to stay but little there. I desire that ye may be all kept free in the Seed of Life, out of all cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me to friends that enquire after me. So no more, but my love in the Seed and Life that changeth not.’ G. F.

Barbadoes, the 6th of the 11th Month, 1671.

I set sail from Barbadoes to Jamaica on the eighth day of the 11th month, 1671; Robert Widders, William Edmundson, Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton, going with me. James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison were gone thither some time before: and Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained yet longer in Barbadoes; with whom were John Rouse and William Baily. We had a quick and easy passage to Jamaica, where we met with our friends James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison again, who had been labouring there in the service of truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the Island, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are many of them debauched and wicked. We had much service there, for there was a great convincement, and many received the truth, some of which were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large, and very quiet; for indeed the people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the governor and some other of the magistrates, who all carried themselves lovingly towards me.

About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, who went with us from England to Barbadoes, and from Barbadoes thither, being a woman of a great age, and who had travelled much in truth's service, and suffered much for it, departed this life. She was well the day before she died; and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to truth at her departure.

When we had been about seven weeks in Jamaica, and had brought friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings amongst them, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland, leaving friends and truth prosperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and his blessed Seed reigning.

But before I left Jamaica I writ another letter to my wife, as followeth:

‘My dear Heart,

‘To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all friends in those parts. I have been at Jamaica about five weeks, and friends here are generally well; and here is a convincement: but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me, but the blessed Seed is over all; the great Lord be praised, who is Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass away from hence about the beginning of the next month, and we shall pass towards

Maryland if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the seed of God; in his truth I rest in love to you all.'

G. F.

Jamaica, 23rd of the 12th month, 1671.

We went on board on the 8th of the first month, 1671; and having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards, before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved and pretty dangerous, especially in our passing through the Gulf of Florida, where we met with many trials by winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of the seas and of the land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but were fain to let the ship go which way she would; then did we pray unto the Lord; and the Lord did graciously hear and accept us; and did calm the winds and the seas, and gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation; blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and the seas obey.

We were at sea betwixt six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. But some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Potuxan River, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter, in which were divers persons, both men and women, people of account outwardly in the world. We took them in, but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship: but provision grew short, for they brought none in with them, and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, was well nigh spent when they came to us; so that with their living upon it too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard whereof was so great, that all but friends concluded he would be cast away; yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after the friends of the place came to

fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage through the good providence of the Lord, which we came to understand afterwards. For when we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, that were both bound for the same coast; one of these was a frigate, the other was called a yacht. The master of the frigate we thought asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together; but what with calms and contrary winds we were in a while separated: and after that the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards, by whom she was taken and robbed, and the master and mate made prisoners; afterwards being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand, we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous. Some friends at Jamaica would have had us gone in the frigate that was taken; but the Lord in his wisdom ordered it otherwise.

Here we found John Burneyate intending shortly to sail for old England; but upon our arrival he altered his purpose, and joined with us in the Lord's service which we were upon. He had appointed a general meeting for all the friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together and take his leave of them, before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God, that we landed just time enough to reach that meeting; by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which (besides friends) came many of the world's people, divers of which were of considerable quality in the world's account; for there were amongst them five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note; who seemed well satisfied with the meeting. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began; wherein I opened to friends the service thereof to their great satisfaction: after this we went to another place called the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed; we went some part of the way by land,

and the rest by water; and a storm arising, our boat was run on ground, in danger to be beaten to pieces; and the water came in upon us. I was in a great sweat, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and now was wet with the water beside; yet having faith in the power of the Lord, I was preserved from taking hurt, blessed be the Lord. To this meeting also many of the world's people came, and did receive the truth with reverence; we had also a men's-meeting and a women's-meeting, at which most of the backsliders came in again; and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church.

After these two general meetings were over, we parted company, dividing ourselves into several coasts, for the service of truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmundson and three friends more with him sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burneyate, Robert Widders, George Pattison and I, with several friends of the province, went over by boat to the eastern shore, and had a meeting there on the first day; where many people received the truth with gladness, and friends were greatly refreshed: a very large and heavenly meeting it was, and several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of which were justices of the peace. And it was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to that meeting; the emperor came and was at the meeting; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach thither time enough; yet they came after with their cockarouses. I had in the evening (for they staid all night) two good opportunities with them, and they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and did confess to it. What I spake to them, I desired them to speak to their people; and let them know, that God was setting up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up his standard and glorious ensign of righteousness. They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it; yet they said, they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now.

The next day we began our journey by land to New England, a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. We took horse at the head of Tredaven Creek, and travelled through the woods, till we came a little above the head of Miles River; by which we passed, and rode on to the head of Wye River, and so got to the head of Chester River; where making a

fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning setting forward again, we travelled through the woods till we came to Saxifrax River, which we went over in canoes (which are Indian boats,) causing our horses to swim by. Then we rode on to Bohemia River; where in like manner swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little at a plantation by the way, but could not stay long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town; which we were willing to do, and therefore rid hard for it: and I with some others, whose horses were stronger, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired, and withal wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders being weaker-horsed, were fain to fall short and lie in the woods that night also, making themselves a fire: the town we went to was a Dutch town, called Newcastle, whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning. We departed from thence and got over the River Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives; and when we were over, we were troubled to get new guides, which were hard to get and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through, which is since called West Jersey, which was not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole day together, without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place; and sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams or houses. In this journey we came one night to an Indian town, and lay at their king's house, who was a very pretty man; and both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us; they laid us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we staid, their king came to us, and he could speak some English; wherefore I spake to him much, and also to his people, and they were very loving to us. At length we came to a town called Middle Town, which is an English plantation in East Jersey; and there were some friends, but we could not stay to have a meeting there at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits, to get to the half-year's meeting of friends at Oyster Bay in Long Island; which was very near at hand: wherefore we went down with a friend (whose name was Richard Hartshorn, brother to Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer, in London,) who received us gladly to his house, where we refreshed ourselves (for we were weary) and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water (which held

us most part of the day in getting over,) and set us upon Long Island. So we got that evening to friends at Gravesand, with whom we tarried that night, and the next day we got to Flushing, and the day following we reached to Oyster Bay; several friends both of Gravesand and Flushing accompanying us. The half-year's meeting began next day, which was the first day of the week, and lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which the people of the world of all sorts might and did come; on the third day of the week were the men's and women's-meeting, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with some of the bad spirits, who were run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth; and to friends therein. These had been very troublesome to friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and it is like would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's-meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. Wherefore I let them know, that if they had any thing to object against the order of truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose. And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them. So the men's and women's-meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with those discontented people, to which as many of them as would did come, and as many friends as had a desire were present also; and the Lord's power brake forth gloriously to the confounding of the gainsayers. And then some of those that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the truth, began to fawn upon me, and to cast the matter upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all, and they were all brought down and bowed under; which was of great service to truth, and great satisfaction and comfort to friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After this meeting were over, and friends were gone to their several habitations, we staid some days upon the island; and had several meetings in several parts thereof, and had good service for the Lord. And when we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind

served we set sail, and arrived in Rhode Island on the thirtieth day of the third month; where we were gladly received by friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's house, who at that time was governor of the island, and there we lay; being very weary with travelling by land and sea. On the first-day of the week following we had a large meeting, to which the deputy-governor and several justices came, and were mightily affected with the truth. The week following, the yearly-meeting for all the friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way. This meeting lasted six days, of which the first four days were general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of the world's people came: for they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship, and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace daily frequenting the meetings, this did so encourage the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and truth had a good reception with them; and indeed, to give them their due, I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence and affection, than generally they did, during the four days together, which also was taken notice of by other friends. After these public meetings were over the men's-meeting began, which was large, precious and weighty; and the day following was the women's-meeting, which also was large and very solemn; and these two meetings being for the ordering the affairs of the church, many weighty things were opened and communicated to them, by way of advice, information and instruction in the services relating thereunto, that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these two meetings several men's and women's-meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor and other affairs of the church, and to see, that all who profess truth, walk according to the glorious gospel of God. Now when this great and general meeting in Rhode Island was ended, it was somewhat hard for friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the friends of the island; and then being

mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.

When this general meeting was fully over, and friends had taken their leaves one of another to depart home; we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, according as the Lord ordered us. John Burneyate, with John Cartwright and George Pattison, went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow a while after in the same service of truth; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Widders and I staid some time longer also upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people in sloops from other colonies for some time after the general meeting was over: so that we had many large and serviceable meetings among them for several days after.

During the time that we abode here, there was a marriage celebrated amongst friends in this island; and we were at it. It was at a friend's house, who had formerly been governor of the island; and three justices of the peace, and many others of the world's people were there; and both they and friends said, they never saw such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, and so weighty a marriage, and so comely an order. Thus truth was set over all; and this might serve for an example to others, for there were some present from many other places.

After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the ranters (for there were many of them in those parts, and they had been rude at a meeting which I was not at.) Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them; and I believed the Lord would give me power over them; and he did so to his praise and glory, blessed be his name for ever. There were at this meeting many friends and divers of the world's people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and other officers; and they were generally well affected with the truth. But one of the justices, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, and spake highly of the truth; and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.

Then we had a meeting at a place called Providence, which was very large; as consisting of many sorts and sects of people; and I had a great travail upon my spirit concern-

ing the meeting, that it might be preserved quiet, and that truth might be brought over the people, and might gain an entrance and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priests in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord whom we waited upon was with us, and his power went over them all, and his blessed seed was exalted and set above all; and the disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! And the people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting. This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island, and we went to it by water. The governor of Rhode Island and many others went with me thither, and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceeding hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shined over all, glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to another place called Narraganset, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the governor went with us. There we had a meeting at a justice's house, where friends had never had any meeting before; and the meeting was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about. There were amongst them four justices of the peace; and most of these people were such as had never heard friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the truth amongst that people; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever! The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and was going off towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeate and John Cartwright, being come back out of New England into Rhode Island before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them. At another place I heard some of the magistrates should say among themselves; if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, it was time for me to be gone; for if their eye was so much to me or any of us, they would not come to their own teacher. For this thing (of hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to their own teacher in themselves.

Now, after we had had very good service for the Lord in Rhode Island and the parts adjacent, and that John Burneyate, with the other friends, that went from the general meeting here into New England, were returned hither again, I went off from hence to Shelter Island, having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and one John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes; and leaving John Stubbs and John Burneyate in Rhode Island; to water what had been planted by the Lord there and thereaways, who expected John Cartwright (whom they had left at Piscataway) to come and join shortly with them in the same service. We that were for Shelter Island went off in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda and Block Island, came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the muschetos (a sort of gnats or little flies) which abound there, and are very troublesome. Wherefore we went into our sloop again, and put off from the shore and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night. Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we turned in again, (for we could not pass that way), and so came to anchor again before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain that night, and our sloop being open, we were exceeding wet. Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Garner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island; which, though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in getting thither. The day after we came thither, being the first day of the week, we had a meeting there. Afterwards, in the same week, I had a meeting among the Indians there; at which were their king with his council, and about an hundred Indians more; they sate down like friends and heard very attentively, while I spake to them by an interpreter, an Indian, that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was truth. On the next first-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many of the world's people that had never heard friends before. They were very well satisfied with the meeting, and would not go away when the meeting was done, till they had spoken with me; wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the truth; and good desires were raised in them, and a great love. Blessed be the Lord,

his name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson came to us, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia. From whence he travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roan Oak, where he met with a tender people; and after seven weeks service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland and so to New York, he came from thence to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord in the several countries and places wherein he had travelled since he parted from us.

We staid not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put forth to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide did run so strong for several hours, that I have not seen the like, and being against us we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale. We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near unto Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made; and besides it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet. Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and did get over with much ado. When we had gotten from Fisher's Island, we passed by Faulcon Island, and came to the Main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over; and then we came over the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well; and we got safe to Oyster-Bay in Long Island, on the seventh day of the sixth month, very early in the morning, which (they say) is about two hundred miles from Rhode Island. At Oyster-Bay we had a very large meeting; and the same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder went over the Bay to Rye on the Continent, in governor Winthrop's government, and had a meeting there. From Oyster-Bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting; many hundreds of the people of the world being there, some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was, (praised be the Lord God!) and the people were much satisfied. Meanwhile Christopher

Holder and some other friends went to a town in Long Island, called Jamaica, and had a meeting there. We passed from Flushing to Gravesands, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings, to which many would have come from New York, but that the weather hindered them. Then being clear of this place, we hired a sloop; and the wind serving, we set forth for the New Country, now called Jersey. And passing down the Bay by Conny Island, and Natton Island, and Stratton Island, we came to Richard Hartshorn's at Middletown-harbour, about break of day in the morning on the 27th of the sixth month. Next day we rode about thirty miles in that country through the woods and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest, the descent into which was so steep, that we were fain to slide down with our horses, and then let them lie and breathe themselves before they could go on; this place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and on the first-day of the week had a precious meeting there, to which friends and other people came far; and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey. They are building a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a monthly and general meeting set up; which will be of great service in those parts, in keeping up the gospel-order and government of Christ Jesus, (of the increase of which there is no end) that they who are faithful may see that all who profess the holy truth do live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the gospel.

While we were here at Shrewsbury an accident befell, which for the time was a great exercise to us. There was one John Jay, a friend of Barbadoes, who came with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland. He being to try an horse, got upon his back; and the horse fell a running, and cast him down upon his head and brake his neck, as the people said. They that were near him took him up dead, and carried him a good way and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could; and feeling on him, concluded he was dead. And as I stood by him, pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon, throwing away my stick and my gloves, I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin and the other behind his head,

and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in the throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bid them have a good heart, and be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire; but I bid them get him some warm thing to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak, but did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs, and over a river, where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree; and many hundred of miles did he travel with us after this.

To this meeting came most of the people of the town, and a glorious meeting we had; and the truth was over all, blessed be the great Lord God for ever! After the meeting we went to Middletown harbour, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning, through the woods towards Maryland; having hired Indians for our guides; for I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware-bay, that so we might head the creeks and rivers as much as was possible. So on the ninth day of the seventh month we set forwards, and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs; and when we had ridden about forty miles, we made us a fire at night, and lay by it. As we came among the Indians we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles (as we computed;) and at night finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire and lay there, at the head of Delaware-bay. The next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock, and then to the main land; having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and lay there that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made us a fire at night, by which we lay and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels in the day-time. The next day we passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. From thence we came to Christian-river, where we swam over our horses, and went over ourselves in canoes; but the sides of this river were so bad and

miry, that some of the horses had like to have been laid up. From thence we came to a town called Newcastle, heretofore called New Amsterdam; and being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we might buy some corn for our horses, the governor came into the street and invited me to his house; and afterwards desired me to lodge there, telling me he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome. So I staid there, the other friends being taken care of also. This was on the seventh day of the week; and he offering his house for a meeting, we had a meeting there the next day, a pretty large one; for the chief of the town, and indeed most of the town were at it. Here had never been a meeting before, nor any within a great way of it; but this was a very precious one, and many of the people, both men and women, were tender, and confessed to the truth, and some received it, blessed be the Lord for ever!

On the sixteenth of the seventh month we set forward again from hence, and travelled (as near as we could compute) about fifty miles that day, through the woods and over the bogs, heading Bohemia river and Saxifrax river. At night we made us a fire (as we used to do) in the woods, and lay there all night; and it being rainy weather, we got under some thick trees for shelter, and afterwards dried ourselves again by the fire. Next day we waded through Chester-river, a very broad water, and afterwards passing through many bad bogs, lay that night also in the woods by a fire; not having gone (by reason of hindrances in the river and bogs) above thirty miles that day. But on the day following we travelled hard; and though we had some troublesome bogs in our way, we rode about fifty miles; and got safe that night, but very weary, to a friend's house, one Robert Harwood, at Miles river in Maryland. This was the eighteenth day of the seventh month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with getting through the bogs in our journey, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and from it to John Edmundson's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the first-day following. At this meeting there was a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before; and she was reached, and said after the meeting, she had rather hear us once than the priests a thousand times. Many others also of the world's people that were there, were very well satisfied, for the power of the Lord was eminently with and amongst us; blessed for ever be his holy name! We passed from thence about twenty-two miles, and had a

meeting upon the Kentish shore, to which one of the judges came; and a good meeting it was. Then, after we had had another good meeting hard by there, at one Henry Wilcock's house, where also we had good service for the Lord; we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were some hundreds of the world's people, and divers of the chief rank, both English and Indians; for there were four justices of the peace, and the high-sheriff of Delaware, and some others from thence; and there was an Indian emperor or governor, and two others of the chief men among the Indians. With these Indians I had a good opportunity the night before the meeting, and I spake to them by an interpreter; and they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving. A blessed meeting this was, and of great service, both for convincing, and establishing in the truth them that were convinced of it; blessed be the Lord, who causeth his blessed truth to spread. After the meeting a woman came to me, (whose husband was one of the judges of that part of the country, and a member of the parliament or assembly there) and told me, her husband was sick, not like to live; and desired me to go home with her to see him. It was three miles to her house; and I being just come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet considering the service, I got an horse and went with her, and visited her husband, and spake what the Lord gave me to him; and the man was much refreshed, and finely raised up by the power of the Lord; and he afterwards came to our meetings. I went back again to the friends that night; and next day we departed thence, and went about nineteen or twenty miles to Tredhaven-creek, to John Edmundson's again; from whence, on the third of the eighth month, we went to the general meeting for all Maryland friends.

This meeting held five days together; the first three days we had meetings for public worship, to which people of all sorts came; the other two days were spent in the men's and women's meetings. To those public meetings came many of the world, both protestants of divers sorts and some papists; and amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country; and of the common people there were so many, besides friends, that they thought there were sometimes a thousand people at one of those meetings. So that although they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as big again as it was before, yet it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day

four or five miles to the meeting, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames; and people said there were never so many boats seen there together before. And as the concourse of people was very great (so that one of the justices who was there said, he never saw so many people together in that country before), so it was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, and friends were thereby sweetly refreshed, and the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all; everlasting praises to his holy name for ever. After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, and were held the other two days; for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God and the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. So when these meetings were all over, we took our leaves of friends in those parts; whom we left well established in the truth (which is of good report amongst the people there, and great enquirings there are after it amongst all sorts of people.) And upon the tenth day of the eighth month we went from thence about thirty miles by water, passing by Cranes Island, and Swan Island, and Kent Island, in very foul weather and much rain; whereby (our boat being open) we were not only very much wetted, but in great danger of being overset; insomuch that some of the world thought we could not have escaped casting away, till they saw us come to shore next morning. But blessed be God, we were very well. And having got a little house, and dried our clothes by the fire, and refreshed ourselves a little, we betook us to our boat again; and put off from land, sometimes sailing and sometimes rowing; but having very foul weather that day too, we could not get above twelve miles forward that day. At night we got to land, and made us a fire, and some lay by that, and some lay by a fire at an house a little way off. Then, next morning pursuing our journey, we passed over the great bay, and sailed about forty miles that day; and making to shore at night, we lay there, some in the boat, and some at an ale-house by. Next morning (it being the first-day of the week) we went six or seven miles to a friend's house, who was a justice of the peace; where we had a meeting that day; and this was a little above the head of the great bay. So we were almost four days upon the water weary with rowing; yet all was very well, blessed and praised be the Lord. We went next day to another friend's house, near the head of Hatton's Island, where we had good service amongst

friends and others; as we had also the day following at George Wilson's, a friend that lived about three miles further; where we had a very precious meeting, there being a great tenderness amongst the people.

After this meeting we sailed thence about ten miles to James Frizby's (who was a justice of the peace) and there on the sixteenth of the eighth month, we had a very large meeting, at which, besides friends, were some hundreds of people as it was supposed, and amongst them were several justices of the peace, and captains, and the sheriff, with other persons of note in the world's account. A blessed heavenly meeting this was, and a powerful, thundering testimony for truth was borne therein; and a great sense there was upon the people, and a great brokenness and tenderness was amongst them. We staid after meeting till about the eleventh hour in the night, that the tide turned, and was with us; and then taking boat again, we passed that night and the next day about fifty miles, to another friend's house. The two next days we made short journies, visiting friends, and on the twentieth we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting-place, but not large enough to hold the people by many; for the people of those parts came generally to it. Divers of the chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people, and it gave them generally great satisfaction. Two days after we had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, and we had good service in it. Then spending a day or two in visiting friends thereabouts, we passed to the western shore; and on the twenty-fifth day had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's, where the speaker of their assembly, with his wife, and a justice of peace, and several other people of quality were present. Next day we had a meeting six or seven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, where many of the magistrates and upper sort of people were, and the speaker of the parliament or assembly for that country was convinced: a blessed meeting it was, praised be the Lord. We travelled on next day, and on the day following (which was the twenty-eighth of the eighth month) had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the cliffs, between thirty and forty miles distant from the former. Many of the magistrates and upper rank of people were at this meeting, and a heavenly meeting it was. One of the governor's council's wives was convinced, and her husband very loving to friends: and one that came from Virginia (being a justice of the peace there) was convinced, and hath a meeting since at his house. There were some pa-

pists at this meeting, and one of them threatened before he came that he would dispute with me; but when he came he was reached, and could not oppose. Blessed be the Lord, the truth hath reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good savour amongst them. After the meeting we went about eighteen miles to James Preston's, a friend that liveth on Pottuxon river; and thither came to us an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I spake, and I found they understood the thing I spake of. Now having finished our service in Maryland, and intending forthwith to set forward for Virginia, we had a meeting at Pottuxon on the fourth-day of the ninth month, to take our leaves of friends. The meeting was in the meeting place, and many of the world's people of all sorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

Upon the fifth-day of the ninth month we set sail for Virginia, and in three days came to a place called Nancemum, it being (as they there computed) about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with nothing but what had been usual with us, namely, foul weather, storms, and rain, and to lie in the woods by a fire in the night. At this Nancemum lived a friend, called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting at Nancemum, of friends and people; there came to this meeting one colonel Dewes, with several other officers and magistrates, and were much taken with the truth declared. After this meeting was over we hastened towards Carolina; yet had several meetings by the way, wherein we had good service for the Lord; one about four miles from Nancemum Water, which was a very precious meeting, and there was a men's and a womens' meeting settled, for taking care of the affairs of the church. Another very good meeting also we had at William Yarrow's, at a place called Pagan Creek, where the meeting was so large, that we were fain to be abroad, the house not being big enough to contain the people. A great openness there was in the people, and the sound of truth did spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of people: the Lord have the glory for ever.

After this our way to Carolina grew worse, being much of it plashy and wet, and pretty full of great bogs and swamps; so that we were commonly wet to the knees most of us, and lay abroad a-nights in the woods by a fire; saving that one of the nights we got to a poor house, at a place called Sommertown, and lay by the fire in the house. The woman of the house had a sense of God upon her, and the report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn some people that lived beyond Sommertown, to that house, in

expectation to have seen and heard us (so acceptable was the sound of truth in that wilderness country): but they missed us. The next day, which was the twenty-first of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached at night to Bonner's Creek; and there we lay that night by the fire-side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

This was the first house we came to in Carolina; and here we left our horses, which were over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe, to Macocomocock River, and came to a man's house whose name was Hugh Smith; where the people of the world came in to see us (for there were no friends in that part of the country), and many of them did receive us gladly. Amongst others that came to see us, there was one Nathaniel Batts, who (we heard) had been governor of Ronoack; he went by the name of captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said he was told, had been healed by our prayers, and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick, and given over by the physicians; and he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

Not far from hence we had a meeting among the world's people, and they were taken with the truth: blessed be the Lord. Then passing down the river Maratick in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, and came to a captain's house, who was very loving to us, and lent us his boat (for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in upon us). With this boat we went on to the governor's house; but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat being loaden, could not swim; so that we were fain to put off our shoes and stockings, and wade through the water a pretty way. The governor with his wife received us lovingly; but there was at his house a doctor, who would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people, concerning the light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed that it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it: and he said there was such a thing in him that did so reprove him, and he was ashamed when he had done wrong or spoken wrong. So we shamed the doctor before the governor and the people,

insomuch, that the poor man run out so far, that at length he would not own the scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night, and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us; where taking our leave of him we entered our boat again, and went that day about thirty miles to one Joseph Scot's, who was one of the representatives of the country; and there we had a meeting, and many people were at it; a sound precious meeting it was, and the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore we went to another house about four miles further, and there we had another meeting, to which the governor's secretary came, who was chief secretary of the province, and had (it seems) been formerly convinced.

I went from this place among the Indians, and spake unto them by an interpreter; shewing them, that God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world, because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spake to them concerning Christ, shewing them, that he did die for all men, for their sins as well as for others, and had enlightened them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil he would burn them, but if they did well they should not be burned. There was among them their young king, and others of their chief men, and they seemed to receive kindly what I said unto them.

Now having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth upon the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having several meetings in our way, wherein we had very good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open, blessed be the Lord. We lay one night at the secretary's house, to which we had much ado to get, for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore; but the secretary's wife seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe (her husband being from home) and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk and full of water; but we got her up and mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough and troubled, and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord for ever; the people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain who was very loving, and did acknowledge it to be truth that

was spoken; there was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a pauwaw, and he sate soberly among the people. On the ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's Creek, where we had left our horses; having spent a matter of eighteen days in the north of Carolina.

Our horses having rested, and being now fresh, we set forward forthwith for Virginia again, travelling through the woods and bogs, as far as we could well reach that day; and at night lay by a fire in the woods, as we often used to do. Next day we had a tedious journey through the bogs and swamps, and were exceeding wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourselves at night by a fire. We got that night to Sommerton; and when we came near the house, the woman of the house seeing us, spake to her son to keep up their dogs, (for both in Virginia and Carolina they generally keep great dogs to guard their houses, living lonely in the woods;) but the son said he need not, for their dogs did not use to meddle with these people. Whereupon, when we were come into the house, the woman told us, we were like the children of Israel, whom the dogs did not move their tongues against. Here we lay, but in our clothes and by the fire, as we had done many a night before: and the next day before we went away, we had a meeting here; for the people having heard of us, had a great desire to hear us; and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had meeting before; praised be the Lord for ever! after the meeting we hasted away. And when we had ridden about twenty miles, calling at a house to inquire the way, the people of the house desired us to tarry all night with them, which we did. Next day we came among friends, after we had travelled about an hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia; in which time we observed a great variety of climates, having passed in a few days from a very cold, to a warm and spring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the same in all, and is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the Lord for ever!

We spent about three weeks this time in travelling through Virginia, sometimes amongst the world's people only, but mostly among friends, having many large and precious meetings in several parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where a great many of the magistrates and officers, and other high people came: and a most heavenly meeting we had, wherein the power of the Lord was so great, that it struck a dread upon the assembly and chained all down, and brought a reverence upon the people's minds. Among the officers that were there, there

was a major that was kinsman to the priest, and he told me the priest threatened to come and oppose us. But the Lord's power was too strong for him and stopped him, and we were quiet and peaceable, and the people were wonderfully affected with the testimony of truth; blessed be the Lord for ever! Another very good meeting we had at a place called Crickatrough, at which many considerable people were, many of whom had never heard a friend before, and they were greatly satisfied with the meeting, praised be the Lord! We had also a very good and serviceable meeting at John Porter's, which consisted mostly of the world's people; in which the power of the Lord was gloriously seen and felt, and it brought the truth over all the bad walkers and talkers; blessed be the Lord! Divers other meetings we had, and many opportunities of doing service for the Lord amongst the people where we came. And the last week that we staid, we spent some time and pains among friends, sweeping away that which was to be swept out, and working down a bad spirit that was got up in some; and blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, he it is that gives victory over all.

Now having finished what service lay upon us at Virginia, on the thirtieth day of the tenth month we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But having a very great storm that day, and being much wetted, we were glad to get to shore before night; and walking to an house at Willoughby Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the house was a widow, and a very tender woman; she had never received friends before, but she received us very kindly, and with tears in her eyes. We returned to our boat in the morning and hoisted up our sail, getting forward as fast and as far as we could; but towards evening a storm rising, and the wind being high, we had much ado to get to the shore, and our boat being open the water flashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were sufficiently wetted. Being got to land we made us a fire in the woods, to warm and dry us, and there we lay all that night, the wolves howling about us. On the first of the eleventh month we sailed again, but the wind being against us, and sometimes driving us backwards, we made but little way, and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort; for the weather was so cold, that though we made us a good fire in the woods to lie by, yet our water, that we had got for our use, was frozen near the fire-side. We made to sea again next day; but the wind being strong and against us, we advanced but little, but were glad to

get to land again, and travel about to find some house, where we might buy some provisions, for our store was spent. That night also we lay in the woods; and so extreme cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the frost and snow being great, that it was hard for some to abide it. On the third of the eleventh month, the wind setting pretty fair, we fetched it up by sailing and rowing, and got that night to Milford Haven, where we lay at Richard Long's near Quince's Island: next day we passed by Raphahannock River, where dwell much people, and friends had a meeting there-aways at a justice's house, that had formerly been at a meeting where I was. We passed over Potomack River also, the winds being high, the water very rough, our sloop open, and the weather extreme cold; and having a meeting there-aways also, some people of the world that came to it were convinced; and when we parted thence, some of our company went amongst them. We steered our course for Pottuxon River, and I sate at the helm most part of the day, and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's house in Pottuxon River, which is accounted about two hundred miles from Nancemum in Virginia. We were very weary, yet the next day (being the first of the week, and fifth of the month) we went to the meeting not far from thence; and the same week we went to an Indian king's cabin, where several of the Indians were, with whom we had a pretty opportunity to discourse, and they carried themselves very lovingly. We went also that week to a general-meeting, from which we went about eighteen miles further to John Gearies, where we had a very precious meeting, praised be the Lord God for ever! But after this the cold grew so exceeding sharp, such extreme frost and snowy weather, beyond what was usual in that country, so that we could hardly endure to be in it. Neither was it easy or safe to stir abroad; yet we got (with some difficulty) six miles through the snow to John Mayor's, where we met with some friends that were come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to see each other, after so long and tedious travels. By these friends we understood, that William Edmundson having been at Rhode Island and New England, was gone from thence for Ireland; that Solomon Eccles coming from Jamaica and landing at Boston in New England, was taken at a meeting there and banished to Barbadoes; that John Stubbs and another friend were gone into New Jersey, and several other friends to Barbadoes, Jamaica,

and the Leeward Islands. It was matter of joy to us to understand that the work of the Lord went on and prospered, and that friends were unwearied and diligent in the service.

On the twenty-seventh of the eleventh month, we had a very precious meeting in a tobacco-house; and on the next day we returned to James Preston's, about eighteen miles distant. But when we came there, we found his house was burnt down to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a maid servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold. We made an observation which was somewhat strange, but certainly true, that one day in the midst of this cold weather, the wind turning into the south, it grew so hot that we could hardly bear the heat, and the next day and night, the wind chopping back into the north, we could hardly endure the cold.

On the second of the twelfth month, we had a glorious meeting at Pottuxon; and after it went to John Gearie's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the monthly-meeting at the Clifts, to which we went, and a living meeting it was, praised be the Lord; this was on the sixth of the twelfth month: and another meeting we had on the ninth, wherein the glory of the Lord shined over all; blessed and magnified be his holy name for ever.

From hence we intended to go to Anamessey, and on the twelfth day of the twelfth month we set forward in our boat; and travelling by night as well as by day, in the night we run our boat on ground in a creek near Manaco River. There we were fain to stay till morning, that the tide came and lifted her off again; and in the mean time sitting in an open boat, and the weather being bitter cold, some had like to have lost the use of their hands, they were so frozen and benumbed with cold. But in the morning, when the tide had set our boat afloat again, we got to land and made us a good fire, at which we warmed ourselves well, and then went to our boat again, and passed on about ten miles further to a friend's house; where next day we had a very precious meeting, at which some of the chief of the place were. I went after the meeting to a friend's house, about four miles off, at the head of Anamessey River, where on the day following, the judge of the country and a justice with him came to me, and were very loving, and much satisfied with friends' order. The next day we had a large meeting at the justice's house, but it was in his barn, for his house could not hold the company.

There were several of the great folks of that country, and among the rest there was an opposer; but all was preserved quiet and well, and a precious meeting it was, and the people were much taken and affected with the truth; blessed be the Lord. We went next day to see one captain Colburn, who was also a justice of the peace, and there we had some service; then returning again, we had a very glorious meeting at the same justice's where we met before; and there were many people of account in the world, magistrates, officers, and others at it. It was a large meeting, and the power of the Lord was much felt, so that the people were generally well satisfied, and taken with the truth; and there being several, both merchants and masters of ships from New England, the truth was spread abroad; blessed be the Lord!

A day or two after departing from this place, we travelled about sixteen miles through the woods and bogs, heading Anamessy River and Amoroca River, part of which last we went over in a canoe, and came to Manaoke, to a friendly woman's house; where on the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month, we had a large meeting in a barn, and the Lord's living presence was with us and among the people; blessed be his holy name for evermore! Friends had never had a meeting in those parts before. After this meeting we passed over the River Wicocomaco, and through many bad and watery swamps and marshy ways, and came to James Jones, a friend, who was a justice of the peace; where we had a large and very glorious meeting, praised be the Lord God. Then passing over the water in a boat, we took horse and travelled about twenty-four miles through woods and troublesome swamps, and came to another justice's house, where we had a very large meeting, much people of the world being at it, and many of considerable account amongst them; and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us, praised for ever be his holy name! This was on the third day of the first month, 167 $\frac{2}{3}$; and on the fifth day of the same we had another living and heavenly meeting, at which divers of the justices with their wives, and many others of the world's people were, amongst whom we had very good service for the Lord, blessed be his holy name! At this meeting was a woman that lived at Anamessy, who had been many years in trouble of mind, and sometimes would sit moping near two months together, and hardly speak or mind any thing. When I heard of her, I was moved of the Lord to go to her, and tell her, that salvation was come to her house. And after I had

spoken the word of life to her, and intreated the Lord for her, she mended, and went up and down with us to meetings, and is since well; blessed be the Lord!

Being now clear of these parts, we left Anamessy on the seventh day of the first month, and passing by water about fifty miles, came to a friendly woman's house at Hunger River. We had very rough weather in our passage to this place, and were in great danger, for the boat had like to have been turned over, and I lost both my hat and cap; yet we recovered them again with much ado, and through the good providence of God got safe thither, praised be his name! At this place we had a meeting, where we had never any before, and amongst the people that were at it, there were two papists, a man and a woman; the man was very tender, and the woman confessed to the truth. This meeting was not so large as it would have been, if many, who intended to have been at it, could have got to it; but the weather was so foul, and the water by reason of high winds so rough, that it was not safe to pass upon it. I had no friend now with me but Robert Widders, the rest having dispersed themselves into several parts of the country in the service of truth.

So soon as the wind would permit, we passed from hence about forty miles by water, rowing most part of the way, and came to the head of little Choptanck River, to Dr. Winsmore's, who was a justice of peace, and lately convinced. Here we met with some friends, with whom we staid awhile; and then went on by land and water, and had a large meeting abroad, for the house we were at could not receive the people: there were divers of the magistrates and their wives at this meeting, and a good meeting it was; blessed be the Lord, who is making his name known in that wilderness country. We went back from thence to a friend's house, whose name is William Stephens, where we met with those other friends, that had been travelling in other parts; and were much refreshed in the Lord together, when we imparted to each other the good success we had had in the Lord's work, and the prosperity and spreading of truth in the places where we travelled. John Cartwright and another friend had been at Virginia, where were great desires in people after truth; and being now returned, they staid but a little with us here, and then set forward for Barbadoes. But before we left this place, we had a very glorious meeting here, at which were very many of the world's people, and some of the chief of them: for there was the judge of that country, and three justices of the peace, and the high-sheriff, with their wives, and

several others; and of Indians there was he who was called their emperor, and one of the Indian kings and their speaker, who all sat very attentive, and carried themselves very lovingly; and an establishing settling meeting it was. This was on the twenty-third of the first month.

And on the twenty-fourth we went by water ten miles to the Indian town; where this same emperor dwelt, whom I had acquainted before with my coming, and desired him to get their king and councils together. In the morning the emperor came himself and had me to the town; and they were generally come together, and had their speaker and other officers with them, and the old empress sate among them; and to give them their due, they sat very grave and sober, and were all very attentive, beyond many that are called Christians. I had some with me that could interpret to them, and we had a very good meeting with them, and of very good service it was; for it gave them a good esteem of truth and friends; blessed be the Lord!

After this we had many meetings in several parts of that country, one at William Stephen's, which was a general meeting once a month; another at Tredhaven Creek; another at Wye; another at Reconow Creek; and another at Thomas Taylor's in the Island of Kent. Most of these meetings were large, there being many of the world's people at them, and divers of them of the most considerable in the world's account; and the Lord's power and living presence were with us, and plenteously manifested amongst the people; by which their hearts were tendered, and opened to receive the truth, which had a good savour amongst them; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever. Then being clear of that side, we passed over the bay about fourteen miles to a friend's house, where we met with several friends, and I sent for Thomas Thurston thither and had a meeting with him, to bring the truth over his bad actions.

Now having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations thereabouts, and had very good service for the Lord in America, having alarmed the people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of those parts of the world, and draw towards Old England again. Yet we were desirous, and felt freedom from the Lord, to stay till the general-meeting for that province of Maryland was over (which drew nigh) that we might see friends generally together before we departed. Wherefore spending our time in the interim, partly in visiting friends and friendly people, and in having meet-

ings about the Clifts and Pottuxon, and partly in writing answers to some cavilling objections, which some of truth's adversaries had raised and spread abroad, to hinder people from receiving the truth, we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord, until that general provincial meeting came on, which began on the seventeenth day of the third month, and lasted four days. On the first of these days the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the church of God were taken care of, and many things relating thereunto were opened unto them, to their edification and comfort. The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, at which divers of considerable account in the government, and many others of the world's people were present, who were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

After this meeting we took our leave of friends, parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, that was livingly felt amongst us; and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping, many friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night. Next day, which was the twenty-first of the third month, 1673, and the day following we set sail for England; the same day Richard Covell came on board our ship, having had his own taken from him by the Dutch. We had foul weather and contrary winds, which caused us to cast anchor often, so that we were till the thirty-first of the third month, e'er we could get past the capes of Virginia and come out into the main sea. But after this we made good speed, and on the twenty-eighth of the fourth month cast anchor at King's Road, which is the harbour for Bristol. We had in our passage very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceeding rough, the waves rising like mountains; so that the masters and sailors wondered at it, and said they never saw the like before. But though the wind was strong, it sate for the most part with us, so that we sailed away before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, of earth and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, he steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of Providence that went with us, and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us safely back again; thanksgiving and praises

be to his holy name for ever! Many sweet and precious meetings we had on board the ship during this voyage, (commonly two a week,) wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and did often break in upon and tender the company. And when we came into Bristol harbour, there lay a man of war, and the press-master came on board us to press our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ship with the seamen before we went to shore, and the press-master sat down with us and staid the meeting, and was very well satisfied with it. After the meeting I spake to him to leave two of the men he had pressed in our ship (for he had pressed four,) one of which was a lame man, and he said, at my request, he would.

We went on shore that afternoon and got to Shirehampton, where we got horses, and rode to Bristol that night, where friends received us with great joy. In the evening I writ a letter to my wife to give her notice of my landing, as followeth :

‘ Dear Heart,

‘ This day we came into Bristol near night from the seas, glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course; who is the God of the whole earth, and of the seas and winds, and made the clouds his chariots, beyond all words, blessed be his name for ever! Who is over all in his great power and wisdom, amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaster are with me, and we are well; glory to the Lord for ever, who hath carried us through many perils, perils by water, and in storms, perils by pirates and robbers, perils in the wilderness and amongst false professors; praises to him whose glory is over all for ever, amen. Therefore mind the fresh life, and live all to God in it. I do intend (if the Lord will) to stay awhile this away, it may be till the fair. So no more, but my love to all friends.’

G. F.

Bristol, the 28th day of the
4th month, 1673.

Between this and the fair, my wife came out of the north to Bristol to me, and her son-in-law Thomas Lower, with two of her daughters, came with her. And her other son-in-law John Rouse, and W. Penn and his wife, and Gerard Roberts, came down from London, and many friends from several parts of the nation came to the fair, and glorious powerful meetings we had there at that time, for the

Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the fresh openings whereof I was moved to declare of three estates and three teachers, viz. That God was the first teacher of man and woman in Paradise; and as long as they kept to and under God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in his likeness, in righteousness and holiness, and in dominion over all that God had made, in the blessed state in the paradise of God. But when they hearkened to the serpent's false teaching (who was out of truth) and disobeyed God and obeyed the serpent, in feeding upon that which God forbade them, then they lost the image of God, the righteousness and holiness, and came under the power of satan, and were turned out of paradise, out of the blessed into the cursed state. And then the promise of God was, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, and break his power that man and woman were under, and destroy his works. So here were three states and three teachers. God was the first teacher in paradise; and whilst man kept under his teaching he was happy. The serpent was the second teacher; and when man followed his teaching he came into misery, and into the fall, from the image of God, and righteousness, and holiness, and from the power that he had over all that God had made, and came under the serpent, whom he had power over before. Christ Jesus was the third teacher; of whom God saith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him;" and who himself saith, "Learn of me." This is the true gospel-teacher who bruises the head of the serpent that is the false teacher, and the head of all false teachers, and of all false religions, false ways, false worships, and false churches. Now Christ, who said, "Learn of me," and of whom the Father said, "Hear ye him," he said, "I am the way to God, I am the Truth, I am the Life, and the true Light." So as man and woman come up again to God, and are renewed up into his image, righteousness and holiness by Christ, thereby they come up into the paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell, and into an higher state than that, to sit down in Christ that never fell. Therefore the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and the Redeemer, and hath laid down his life, and bought his sheep with his precious blood. And we can challenge all the world, who hath any thing to say against our way, our Sayiour, our Redeemer; who is our prophet, whom God hath raised up that we may hear, and whom we must hear in all things; who hath any thing against our Shepherd,

Christ Jesus, who leads and feeds us, and we know his heavenly voice? And who hath any thing against our Bishop, in whose mouth was never guile found, who doth oversee us in his pasture of life, that we do not go astray from God, and out of his fold? And who hath any thing against our Priest, Christ Jesus, made higher than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give freely? And who hath any thing to say against our leader and counsellor, Christ Jesus, who never sinned, but is holy and harmless, and separate from sinners? God hath commanded us to hear him, and he saith, "Learn of me," and if we should disobey God's and Christ's command, we should be like our father Adam and mother Eve, who disobeyed God's command, and hearkened to the serpent's teaching. Now man commands, and would force us to hear the hirelings, who plead for sin and the body of death to the grave, which doctrine favours of the devil's teaching, not of Christ's; but we resolve to hear the Son, as both he and the Father command, and in hearing the Son we hear the Father also, as the scripture testifies. For the Author to the Hebrews says, "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son;" mark that, God hath spoken unto us (his apostles, disciples, church) by his Son. And whereas some have objected, that although Christ did speak both to his disciples and to the Jews, in the days of his flesh, yet since his resurrection and ascension he doth not speak now. The answer is, that as God did then speak by his Son in the days of his flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, doth now speak by his spirit. Wherefore John saith in the Revelations, "He that hath an ear let him hear, what the Spirit saith to the churches," Rev. ii. And Christ is said to speak from heaven, Heb. xii. 25. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven." They that resisted Moses his law (who spake on earth) died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but they that refuse him that speaks from heaven, neglect and slight their own salvation, and so die a spiritual death through unbelief and hardness of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, "To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation," &c. Heb. iii. 15. &c. So that they who neglect or refuse to hear the voice of Christ, now speaking from heaven in this

his gospel-day, harden their hearts. Therefore let all mark well these three states and teachers; the God of Truth was the first teacher, while man was in paradise and in innocency. The serpent was the second teacher, the false teacher, who by his false teaching came to be the god of the world, which lies in wickedness. Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent's head, is the third teacher, who saith, "Learn of me," and of whom God saith, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him;" and of whom the testimony of the saints of old was, That God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. Thus they that come to be renewed up again into the divine heavenly image, in which man was at first made, will know the same God, that was the first teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, to speak to them now by his Son, who changes not, glory be to his name for ever!

Many deep and precious things were opened in those meetings by the Eternal Spirit, which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God: and after I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I departed thence into Gloucestershire, where we had many large and precious meetings, and the Lord's everlasting power flowed over all. From Gloucestershire I passed into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings. At Slattenford in Wiltshire we had a very good meeting, though we met there with much opposition from some who had set themselves against women's meetings, which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to friends, for the benefit and advantage of the church of Christ. 'That the faithful women, who were called to the belief of the truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be meet-helps unto the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in outward and civil, or temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God, whereby the poor might be the better looked after and taken care of, the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons propounding marriage more closely and strictly enquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other

in love.' But after these opposers had run into much contention and wrangling, the power of the Lord struck down one of the chief of them, so that his spirit sunk, and he came to be sensible of the evil he had done in opposing God's heavenly power, and confessed his error before friends; and afterwards gave forth a paper of condemnation, wherein he declared, that he did wilfully oppose, (although I often warned him to take heed,) until the fire of the Lord did burn within him; and he saw the angel of the Lord with his sword drawn in his hand, ready to cut him off, &c.

Notwithstanding the opposition was made at the meeting, yet a very good and serviceable meeting it was, for occasion was thereby administered to answer their objections and cavils, and to open the services of women in and for the church. And at this meeting the women's meetings for that county were established in the blessed power of God.

After this I went to Marlborough and had a meeting there, to which some of the magistrates came, and were civil and moderate. Then passing on to Bartholomew Maylin's, I had a very precious meeting there; and from thence went a little beyond Ore, where we had a blessed meeting, and very large, as we had also soon after upon the border of Hampshire. Then turning into Oxfordshire, we visited friends there, and then went to Reading, where we had a large meeting; and from thence passing into Buckinghamshire, had many precious meetings in that county. After which we went upwards, visiting friends till we came to Kingston-upon-Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me.

I made no long stay at Kingston, but went to London, where I found the baptists and socinians, with some old apostates, were grown very rude, having printed many books against us; so that I had a great travail in the Lord's power, before I could get clear of that city. But blessed be the Lord, his power came over them all, and all their lying, wicked, scandalous books were answered. Then after a while I made a short journey into some parts of Essex and Middlesex, visiting friends at their meetings, and their children at their schools, and returned soon again to London. And after I had had some service there among friends, I went down to Kingston, and from thence to Stephen Smith's in Surrey, where was a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being at it. I staid in those parts till I had cleared myself of the service the Lord had given me to do there, and then returned by Kingston to

London, whither I felt my spirit drawn, having heard that many friends were had before the magistrates, and divers imprisoned, both at London and in other cities and towns in the nation, for opening their shop-windows upon holidays and fast-days, (as they were called) and for bearing testimony against all such observations of days. Which friends could not but do, knowing that the true Christians did not observe the Jews' holidays in the apostles' times, neither could we observe the heathens' and papists' holidays (so called) which have been set up amongst those that are called Christians, since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into the day which hath sprung from on high, and are come into him who is Lord of the Jewish sabbath, and the substance of the Jews' signs.

Now after I had staid some time in London, labouring for some relief and ease to friends in this case, I took leave of friends there, and went into the country with my wife and her daughter Rachel, to Hendon in Middlesex, and from thence to William Penn's at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, whither Thomas Lower (who married another of my wife's daughters) came to us the next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited friends thereabouts, we passed to a friend's house near Aylesbury, and from thence to Bray Doily's at Adderbury in Oxfordshire, where on the first day we had a large and precious meeting; and truth being well spread, and friends in those parts much increased in number, two or three new meetings were then set up thereabouts.

Now at night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken, yet I said nothing to any body of it then. But getting out next morning, we travelled through the country into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's house at Armscot in Tredington parish, where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being eminently with us and amongst us. After the meeting was done, and friends (most of them) gone away, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some friends that staid, there came to the house one Henry Parker, called a justice, and with him one Rowland Hains, a priest of Hunniton in Warwickshire. This justice came to know of the meeting by means of a woman friend, who being nurse to a child of his, asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; and she speaking of it to her husband, he and the priest plotted together to come and break up the meeting and apprehend me. But by means of their sitting long at dinner (it being the day on which his child

was sprinkled) they came not till the meeting was over, and friends mostly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I being there in the house, who was the person they aimed at, the said Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me; and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, sent us both to Worcester jail, by a strange sort of mittimus, a copy of which here followeth:

To the Constables of Tredington, in the said county of Worcester, and to all constables and tithing-men of the several townships and villages within the said parish of Tredington, and to the keeper of the jail for the county of Worcester.

‘ Complaint being made to me, being one of his majesty’s justices of the peace for the said county of Worcester, that within the said parish of Tredington in the said county, there has of late been several meetings of divers persons, to the number of four hundred persons and upwards at a time, upon pretence of exercise of religion, otherwise than what is established by the laws of England. And many of the said persons, some of them were teachers, and came from the north, and others from the remote parts of the kingdom; which tends to the prejudice of the reformed and established religion, and may prove prejudicial to the public peace. And it appearing to me that there was this present day such a meeting as aforesaid, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, at Armscot in the said parish of Tredington, and that George Fox of London, and Thomas Lower of the parish of Creed, in the county of Cornwall, were present at the said meeting, and the said George Fox was teacher or speaker of the said meeting; and no satisfactory account of their settlement or place of habitation appearing to me, and forasmuch as the said George Fox and Thomas Lower refused to give sureties to appear at the next sessions of the peace to be holden for the said county, to answer the breach of the common laws of England, and what other matters should be objected against them; these are therefore in his majesty’s name to will and require you, or either of you, forthwith to convey the bodies of the said George Fox and Thomas Lower to the county jail of Worcester aforesaid, and there safely to be kept, until they shall be from thence delivered by due course of law; for which this shall be your sufficient war-

rant in that behalf. Dated the 17th day of December, in the 25th year of his majesty's reign over England, &c.'

HENRY PARKER.

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the quarter sessions at soonest, we got some friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the north, and we were conveyed to Worcester jail; from whence, by that time I thought, my wife could be got home, I writ her the following letter:

' Dear Heart,

'Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken; be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rous's at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner, and when I was at Bray Doily's in Oxfordshire, as I sate at supper, I saw I was taken; and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all, blessed be his holy name for ever!'

G. F.

When we had been some time in the jail, we thought fit to lay our case before him who was called the Lord Windsor, who was the lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants, and other magistrates; which we did by the following letter:

' These are to inform you, the lord-lieutenant (so called) and the deputy-lieutenants, and the justices of the county of Worcestershire, how unchristianly and inhumanly we have been dealt withal by Henry Parker, a justice (so called) in our journey or travel towards the north. We coming to our friend John Halford's house on the seventeenth day of the tenth month, 1673, and some friends bringing us on the way, and others coming to visit us there, towards night there came the aforesaid justice, and a priest, called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton in Warwickshire, and demanded our names and places of abode. And though we were not in any meeting, but were discoursing together when they came in, yet he made a mittimus to send us to Worcester jail. Now, whereas he says in his mittimus, that complaint had been made to him of several by-past meetings of many hundreds at a time, we know nothing of that, nor do we think that concerns us. And whereas he says further, that no satisfactory account of our settlement,

or place of habitation appeared unto him. This he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning therein the places of our abode and habitation, the account of which we satisfactorily and fully gave him. And one of us (Tho. Lower) told him, that I was going down with my mother-in-law (who is George Fox his wife) and with my sister, to fetch up my own wife and child out of the north into my own country; and the other of us (George Fox) told him, that I was bringing forward my wife on her journey towards the north (who had been at London to visit one of her daughters, that had lately lain in.) And having received a message from my mother, an ancient woman in Leicestershire, that she earnestly desired to see me before she died, I intended, as soon as I had brought my wife on her journey as far as Causal in Warwickshire, to turn over into Leicestershire, to have seen my mother and relations there, and then to have returned to London again. But by his interrupting of us in our journey, and taking the husband from his wife, and the son from his mother and sister, and stopping him from visiting his wife and child so remote off, we were forced to get strangers, or whom we could, to help them on their journey, to our great damage and their hindrance. We asked the priest, whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers? And we desired the justice to consider, whether this was doing as he would be done by? But he said, he had said it and he would do it. And whereas he says, we refused to give sureties; he asked only George Fox for sureties, who replied, he was an innocent man, and knew no law he had broken; but he did not ask Thomas Lower for any, as if it had been crime and cause enough for his commitment, that he came out of Cornwall. And if we were at a meeting, as he says in his mittimus, he might have proceeded otherwise than by sending us to jail, to answer the breach of the common laws, though yet he shewed us no breach of any; as may be seen in the mittimus. So we thought fit to lay before you the substance of his proceedings against us, hoping there will more moderation and justice appear in you towards us, that so we may prosecute our intended journey.'

GEORGE FOX.
THOMAS LOWER.

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the lord Windsor (so called.) And although Thomas Lower received several letters from his brother Dr. Lower (who was one of the king's physicians) concerning his

liberty, and one by his procurement from Henry Savil (who was one of the king's bed-chamber) to his brother, called the lord Windsor, to the same effect; yet seeing it related only to his enlargement, not mine, so great was his love and regard to me, that he would not seek his own liberty singly, but kept the letter by him unsent. So we were continued prisoners till the next general quarter-sessions of the peace; at which time divers friends from several places being in town, did speak to the justices concerning us, who spake fair to friends, and said we should be discharged: for many of the justices seemed to dislike the severity of Parker's proceedings against us, and did declare an averseness to ensnare us by the tender of the oaths. Some friends also had spoken with him that was called the lord Windsor, who likewise spake them fair, so that it was the general discourse that we should be discharged. We heard also that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from one colonel Sands at London, to some of the justices, in favour of us. Some of the justices also spake to some friends to acquaint us, that they would have us speak but little in the court, lest we should provoke any of the bench, and they would warrant we should be discharged.

We were not called till the last day of the sessions; which was the first-day of the eleventh month, 1673. And when we came in they were stricken with paleness in their faces, and it was some time before any thing was spoken, inso-much that a butcher in the hall said, What, are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them? At length, before they spake to us, justice Parker made a long speech on the bench, much to the same effect as was contained in the mittimus; often mentioning the common laws, but not instancing any that we had broken; adding, that he thought it a milder course to send us two to jail, than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered if he had put the law in execution against conventicles. But in this he was either very ignorant or very deceitful, for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us or his neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his speech the justices spake to us, and began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined of the cause of his coming into that country, of which he gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me they were upon his examination, but that when it came to my turn I should have free liberty to speak, for they would not hinder me, but I should have full time, and they

would not ensnare us. When they had done with him they asked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, according as is mentioned before, but more largely. And whereas justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise of there being some from London, some from the north, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house when I was taken; I told them that this was in a manner all but one family, for there was none from London but myself, none from the north but my wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall but my son-in-law Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol but one friend, a merchant there; who met us as it were providentially, to assist my wife and her daughter in their journey homewards, when by our imprisonment they were deprived of our company and help. When I had spoken, the chairman (whose name was Simpson, an old presbyterian) said, Your relation or account, is very innocent. Then he and Parker whispered awhile together, and after that the chairman stood up and said, You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but, that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy? I told them, they had said they would not ensnare us; but this was a plain snare; for they knew we could not take any oath. However they caused the oath to be read, and when they had done, I told them I never took oath in my life, but I had always been true to the government; that I was cast into the dungeon at Derby, and kept a prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against king Charles at Worcester fight; and for going to meetings was carried up out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell as a plotter to bring in king Charles. And ye know, said I, in your own consciences, that we, the people called quakers, cannot take an oath, or swear in any case, because Christ hath forbidden it. But as to the matter or substance contained in the oaths, this I can and do say, that I do own and acknowledge the king of England to be the lawful heir and successor to the realm of England; and do abhor all plots and plotters and contrivances against him; and I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to him and all men, and desire his and their prosperity; the Lord knows it, before whom I stand, an innocent man. And as to the oath of supremacy, I deny the pope, and his power, and his religion, and abhor it with my heart. While I was speaking to them they cried, Give him the book: and I said, The book saith, swear not at all. Then they cried, Take him away, jailer: and I still speaking on, they were

urgent upon the jailer; crying, Take him away, we shall have a meeting here: why do you not take him away? that fellow (meaning the jailer) loves to hear him preach. Then the jailer drew me away, and as I was turning from them, I stretched out my arm and said, The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ. Thus they apparently brake their promise in the face of the country; for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me, and they promised they would not ensnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to ensnare me.

After I was had away Thomas Lower was staid behind in the court, and they told him he was at liberty. Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them why I might not be set at liberty as well as he, seeing we were both taken together, and our case was alike? But they told him they would not hear him, saying, You may be gone about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged. And this was all he could get from them. Wherefore after the court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know what cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him, and wishing them to consider whether this was not partiality, and would be a blemish to them. Whereupon Simpson threatened him, saying, If you be not content we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father. To which he replied, they might do that if they thought fit; but whether they sent him or no, he intended to go, and wait upon his father in prison, for that was now his business in that country. Then, said justice Parker to him, do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had such a great meeting, insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he hath lost the greatest part of his parishioners, so that when he comes amongst them he hath scarce any auditors left. I have heard, replied Thomas Lower, that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes) that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; and therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ their true teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his gain from his quarter. Upon this the justices fell a laughing, for it seems Dr. Crowder (who was the priest they spake of) was then

in the room sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him, and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder, that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the bishop's court, upon an action of defamation; which when Thomas Lower heard of, he sent him word that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would, and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. And this cooled the doctor. Yet some time after, he came to the prison, pretending that he had a mind to dispute with me, and to talk with Thomas Lower about that business; and he brought another with him, he himself being then a prebend at Worcester.

When he came in, he asked me what I was in prison for? Dost not thou know that? said I. Wast not thou upon the bench when justice Simpson and Parker tendered the oath to me? and hadst not thou an hand in it? Then he said, It is lawful to swear: and Christ did not forbid swearing before a magistrate; but swearing by the sun, and the like. I bid him prove that by the scriptures, but he could not. Then he brought that saying of Paul's, "All things are lawful unto me," 1 Cor. vi. 12. And if, said he, all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him. By this argument, said I, thou mayest also affirm, that drunkenness, adultery, and all manner of sin and wickedness is lawful also, as well as swearing. Why, said Dr. Crowder, do you hold that adultery is unlawful? Yes, said I, that I do. Why then (said he) this contradicts the saying of St. Paul. Thereupon I called to the prisoners and the jailer, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down for orthodox, viz. that drunkenness, swearing, adultery, and such like things, were lawful. Then he said he would give it under his hand: and took a pen, but writ another thing than he had spoken. Then turning to Thomas Lower, he asked him whether he would answer what he had there written? who undertook it. Whereupon, when he had threatened Thomas Lower to sue him in the bishop's court, for speaking so abusively (as he called it) of him before the justices, and Thomas had bid him begin when he pleased, for he would answer him, and bring his parishioners in evidence against him, he went away in a great fret, grumbling to himself as he went. A few days after Thomas Lower sent him an answer to the paper he had writ and left with him, which answer a friend

of Worcester carried to him ; and he read it, and said he would reply to it, but never did, though he often sent him word he would do it.

Soon after the sessions were over, the term coming on, an habeas corpus was sent down to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the king's-bench bar ; whereupon, the under sheriff having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we set forth out of Worcester on the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month, 1673, and came to London the second day of the twelfth month ; the ways being very deep, and the waters out. Next day, notice being given that I was brought up, the sheriff was ordered to bring me into court : I went accordingly, and did appear in court before judge Wild, and both he and the lawyers were pretty fair, so that I had time to speak, to clear my innocency, and shew my wrong imprisonment. After the return of the writ was entered, I was ordered to be brought into court again next day, the order of court being as followeth :

[Worcester. The King against George Fox.]

Thursday, next after the morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 26th year of king Charles the Second :

' The defendant being brought here into court, upon a writ of habeas corpus ad subjiciend, &c. under the custody of the sheriff of the county aforesaid ; it is ordered, that the return unto the habeas corpus be filed ; and the defendant is committed unto the marshal of this court, to be safely kept, until, &c.

By motion of Mr. G. Stroude,

By the court.'

Accordingly I went in the morning and walked in the hall, till the sheriff came to me (for he trusted me to go whither I would), and it being early, we went into the court of the king's bench, and sate there among the lawyers almost an hour, till the judges came in. When the judges came in, the sheriff took off my hat ; and after a while I was called, and the Lord's presence was with me, and his power I felt was over all. I stood and heard the king's attorney, whose name was Jones, who indeed spake notably on my behalf, as did also another counsellor after him ; and the judges, who were three, were all very moderate, not casting any reflecting words at me. So I stood still in the power and spirit of the Lord, seeing how the Lord was

at work, and the earth was helping the woman. But when they had done, I applied myself to the chief justice, desiring that I might speak, and he said I might. Then I related the cause of our journey, the manner of our being taken and committed, and the time of our imprisonment until the sessions; with a brief account of our trial at the sessions, and what I had offered to the justices then, as a declaration, that I could make or sign, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When I had done, the chief justice said I was to be turned over to the king's bench, and the sheriff of Worcester to be discharged of me. He said also that they would consider further of it; and if they found any error in the record, or in the justices' proceedings, I should be set at liberty. So a tipstaff was called to take me into custody, and he delivered me to the keeper of the king's bench, who let me go to a friend's house, where I lodged, and appointed to meet me at Edward Man's, in Bishopsgate-street, next day. But after this, justice Parker, or some other of my adversaries, moved the court that I might be sent back to Worcester. Whereupon another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counsels that pleaded against me; and there was one Geo. Stroud, a counsellor, that pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into the court; but they bore him down, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment, that I should be sent down to Worcester sessions. Only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the sessions, and to be of the good behaviour in the mean time. But I told them I was never in ill behaviour in my life; and that they, the four judges, might as well put the oath to me there as send me to Worcester to be ensnared by the justices, in their putting the oath to me, and then premuniring me, who never took oath in my life. But I told them, if I brake my yea and nay, I was content to suffer the same penalty which they should that break their oaths. The alteration of the judges' minds in my case, proceeded (as was thought) from some false informations that my adversary, justice Parker, had given against me: for between the times of my former appearance and this, he had spread abroad a very false and malicious story, viz. that there were many substantial men with me, out of several parts of the nation, when he took me; and that we had a design or plot in hand, and that Thomas Lower staid with me in prison long after he was set at liberty, to carry on our design. This was spoken in the parliament-house, insomuch, that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I had been stopped at Worcester, and Thomas had been recommitted with me.

But although these lies were easily disproved, and laid open to Parker's shame, yet would not the judges alter their last sentence, but remanded me to Worcester jail; only this favour was granted, that I might go down my own way, and at my own leisure, provided I would be without fail there by the assize, which was to begin on the second-day of the second month next following.

So I staid in and about London till toward the latter end of the first month, 1674, and then went down leisurely (for I was not able to abide hasty and hard travel), and came into Worcester on the last day of the first month, 1674, being the day before the judges came to town. On the second day of the second month I was brought from the jail to an inn near the hall, that I might be in readiness if I should be called. But not being called that day, the jailer came to me at night, and told me I might go home, (meaning to the jail), whereupon Gerrard Roberts of London being with me, he and I walked down together to the jail without any keeper. Next day being brought up again, they set a little boy of about eleven years old, to be my keeper. I came to understand that justice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given order, that I should not be put into the calendar, that so I might not be brought before the judge; wherefore I got the judge's son to move in court, that I might be called; and thereupon I was called, and brought up to the bar before judge Turner, my old adversary, who had tendered me the oaths and premunired me once before at Lancaster. After silence made, he asked me what I did desire? I answered, My liberty, according to justice. He said, I lay upon the oath, and asked if I would take it. I desired he would hear the manner of my being taken and committed, and he being silent, I gave him an account thereof at large, as is before set down, letting him also know, that since my imprisonment I had understood that my mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had desired to see me before she died, hearing that I was stopped and imprisoned in my journey, so that I was not likely to come to see her, it struck her so, that she died soon after: which was a very hard thing to me. When I had done speaking he again asked me to take the oaths; I told him I could not take any oath for conscience-sake, and I did believe he and they all knew in their consciences, that it was for conscience-sake I could not swear at all. But I did declare amongst them what I could say, and what I could sign, in owning of the king's right to the government, and in denying the pope and his pretended power, and all plotters, plots, and conspiracies against the

government. Some thought the judge had a mind to have set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but Parker, who committed me, endeavoured to incense him against me, telling him that I was a ring-leader: that many of the nation followed me, and he knew not what it might come to; with many more envious words, which some that stood near took notice of; who also observed that the judge gave him never a word in answer to it. However, the judge, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the sessions again, bidding the justices make an end of it there, and not trouble the assizes any more with me. So I was continued prisoner chiefly (as it seemed) through the means of justice Parker, who in this case, was as false as envious; for he had promised Richard Cannon of London, (who had, it seems, acquaintance with him) that he would endeavour to have me set at liberty; and yet he was the worst enemy I had in court, as some of the court observed and reported. Other of the justices were very loving, and promised that I should have the liberty of the town, and to lodge at a friend's house till the sessions; which accordingly I had, and the people were very civil and respectful to me.

Between this time and the sessions (having the liberty of the town for my health's sake) I had some service for the Lord with several people that came to visit me. For at one time there came three nonconformist priests and two lawyers to discourse with me, and one of the priests undertook to prove, that the scriptures are the only rule of life. Whereupon, after I had plunged him about his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open unto them the right and proper use, service, and excellency of the scriptures; and also to shew that the Spirit of God, which was given to every one to profit withal, and the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; that this, I say, is the most fit, proper and universal rule, which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern, and order their lives by.

Another time there came a common-prayer priest, and some people with him, and he asked me if I was grown up to perfection? I told him, what I was, I was by the grace of God. He replied, it was a modest and civil answer. Then he urged the words of John, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And he asked, what did I say to that? I said, with the same apostle, "If we say that we have not sinned, we

make him a liar, and his word is not in us ;” who came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin ; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin. Then the priest was asked, whether Adam was not perfect before he fell ? and whether all God’s works were not perfect ? The priest said, there might be a perfection, as Adam had, and a falling from it. But I told him, there is a perfection in Christ, above Adam, and beyond falling, and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ, to present every man perfect in Christ ; and for the perfecting of them they had their gifts from Christ ; and therefore, they that denied perfection denied the work of the ministry, and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints. The priest said, we must always be striving. But I told him, it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome. I told him also that Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also thank God, who gave him the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ. So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. The priest said, Job was not perfect. I told him, God said, Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil : and the devil was forced to confess that God had set an hedge about him, which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible heavenly power. The priest said, Job said “He chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.” I told him that was his mistake, for it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job. Well but, said the priest, what say you to that scripture, “The justest man that is sinneth seven times a day.” Why truly (said I) I say, there is no such scripture ; and with that the priest’s mouth was stopped. Many other services I had with several sorts of people between the assizes and the sessions.

The next quarter-sessions began on the twenty-ninth day of the second month, and there I was called before the justices. The chairman’s name was — Street, who was a judge in the Welch circuit ; and he misrepresented me and my case to the country, telling them that we had a meeting at Tredington, from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king’s subjects, for which we had been committed to prison : that for the trial of my fidelity the oaths were put to me ; and having had time to consider of

it, he asked me if I would now take the oaths? I desired liberty to speak for myself, and having obtained that, began first to clear myself from those falsehoods he had charged on me and friends, declaring that we had not any such meeting from all parts of the nation, as he had represented it; but that (except the friend from whose house we came, and who came with us to guide us thither, and one friend of Bristol, who came accidentally, or rather providentially, to assist my wife homewards after we were taken) they that were with me were in a sense part of my own family, being my wife and her daughter, and her son-in-law. And we did not meet in any way or manner that would occasion terror to any of the king's subjects, for we met peaceably and quietly without arms; and I did not believe there could any one be produced, that could truly say he was terrified with our meeting. Besides, I told them, we were but in our journey, the occasion whereof I now again related as before. Then as to the oaths, I shewed why I could not take them (seeing Christ hath forbidden all swearing), and what I could say or sign in lieu of them, as I had done before. Yet they caused the oaths to be read to me again, and afterwards read an indictment also, which they had drawn up in readiness, having a jury ready also. Now when the indictment was read, the judge asked me if I was guilty? I said, nay, for it was a great bundle of lies, which I shewed and proved to the judge in several particulars, which I instanced; asking him if he did not know in his conscience that they were lies? He said, it was their form. I said it was not a true form. He asked me again whether I was guilty? I told him nay, I was not guilty of the matter nor of the form: for I was against the pope and popery, and did acknowledge and should set my hand to that. Then the judge told the jury what they should say, and what they should do, and what they should write on the back side of the indictment; and as he said, they did. But before the jury gave in their verdict, I spake to them, and told them, that it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to his and the apostle's command, that I could not swear; and therefore (said I) take heed what ye do, for before his judgment seat ye shall all be brought. The judge said, this is canting (a base word). I said, if to confess Christ our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you: yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and shall shew forth Christianity, and my innocency shall be manifest. So the jailer led me out of the court; and the people were generally

tender, like as if they had been in a meeting. Soon after I was brought in again, and the jury found the bill against me, which I traversed; and then I asked to put in bail till the next sessions, and the jailer's son offered to be bound for me: but I stopped him, and warned friends not to meddle, for I told them, there was a snare in that: yet I told the justices that I could promise to appear, if the Lord gave health and strength, and I were at liberty. Some of the justices were loving, and would have stopped the rest from indicting me or putting the oath to me; but judge Street, who was the chairman, said he must go according to law. So I was sent back to prison again, yet within two hours after, through the moderation of some of the justices, I had liberty given me to go at large till next quarter-sessions. These moderate justices (it was said) desired justice Parker to write to the king for my liberty, or for a *noli prosequi* (as they called it), because they were satisfied I was not such a dangerous person as I had been represented: and this (it was said) he promised them to do, but did it not.

After I had gotten a copy of the indictment against me, I went up to London, visiting friends as I went. And when I came there, some that were earnest to get me out of the hands of those envious justices, that sought to premunire me at Worcester, would needs be tampering again, to bring me before the judges of the king's-bench; whereupon I was brought again by an *habeas corpus* before them. And I tendered them a paper, in which was contained what I could say instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as followeth:

‘ This I do in the truth, and in the presence of God declare, that king Charles the Second is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his dominions; and that he was brought in, and set up king over this realm by the power of God: and I have nothing but love and good will to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good. And I utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitions and idolatrous inventions: and do affirm, that he hath no power to absolve sin: and I do abhor and detest his murdering of princes or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the king and his subjects; knowing them to be the works of darkness, and the fruits of an evil spirit, and against the peace of the kingdom, and not from the Spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath,

because it is forbidden by Christ and the apostle; but if I break my yea or nay, then let me suffer the same penalty as they that break their oaths.'

GEORGE FOX.

But the business being so far proceeded in at Worcester, they would not meddle in it, but left me as I was, to appear before the justices, at the next general quarter sessions at Worcester.

Meanwhile the yearly meeting of friends came on, at which (through the liberty granted me till the sessions) I was present, and exceeding glorious the meetings were beyond expression; blessed be the Lord.

After the yearly meeting was over, and friends out of the countries were pretty generally returned home, I set forward again for Worcester; the sessions drawing on, which were held in the fifth month. And when I was called to the bar, and the indictment read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the court, who was justice Street, caused the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him, I came now to try the traverse of my indictment, and that his tendering me the oaths a new, was a new snare. Then I desired him to answer me a question or two; and I asked him, whether the oaths were to be tendered to the king's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes? He said, to the subjects of this realm. Then said I, you have not named me a subject in the indictment, and therefore have not brought me within the statute. The judge cried, read the oath to him: I said, I require justice. Again I asked him, whether the sessions ought not to have been holden for the king, and the body of the county? He said, yes. Then said I, you have there left the king out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the king and me, seeing the king is left out? He said, the king was in before. But I told him, the king's (name) being left out, here was a great error in the indictment, and sufficient (as I was informed) to quash it. Besides I told him, that I was committed by the name of George Fox of London; but now I was indicted by the name of George Fox of Tredington in the county of Worcester: and I wished the jury to consider, how they could find me guilty upon that indictment, seeing I was not of the place in the indictment mentioned? The judge did not deny, but there were errors in the indictment; but said, I might take my remedy in the proper place. I answered, ye know we are a people that suffer all things, and

bear all things; and therefore ye thus use us, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we leave our cause to the Lord. The judge said, the oath hath been tendered to you several times, and we will have some satisfaction from you concerning the oath. I offered them the same declaration instead of the oath, which I had offered to the judges above; but it would not be accepted. Then I desired to know, seeing they put the oath a new to me, whether the indictment was quashed or no? Instead of answering me, the judge told the jury they might go out. Some of the jury were not satisfied; whereupon the judge told them, they had heard a man swear that the oath was tendered to me the last sessions; and then he told them what they should do. I told him, he should leave the jury to their own consciences. However the jury, being put on by him, went forth, and soon after came in again, and found me guilty. I spake to the jury, and asked them, how they could satisfy themselves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which was laid so false, and had so many errors in it? They could make but little answer, yet one, who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand; but I put him by, saying, how now Judas, hast thou betrayed me, and dost thou now come with a kiss? So I bid him and them repent. Then the judge began to tell me, how favourable the court had been to me. I asked him, how he could say so? Was ever any man worse dealt with, than I had been in this case, who was stopped in my journey, being travelling upon my lawful occasions, and then imprisoned without cause, and now had the oaths put to me only for a snare? And I desired him to answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all are, whether this oath was not tendered me in envy? He would not answer that, but said, would you had never come here to trouble us and the country. I told him, I came not thither of myself, but was brought, being stopped in my travel on my journey, and I did not trouble them, but they had brought trouble upon themselves. Then the judge told me, what a sad sentence he had to tell me. I asked him, whether what he was going to speak was by way of passing sentence, or by way of information? For, I told him, I had many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment (besides those I had already mentioned) to stop him from giving sentence against me upon that indictment. He said, he was going to shew me the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of my liberty, and of all my goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during life. But he said, he did not

deliver this as the sentence of the court upon me, but as an admonition to me; and then he bid the jailer take me away. I expected to have been called again to hear the sentence; but when I was gone, the clerk of the peace (whose name was Twitney) asked him, (as I was informed) whether that which he had spoken to me, should stand for sentence? And he, consulting with some of the justices, told him yes, that was the sentence, and should stand. This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the country. Many of the justices, and the generality of the people were moderate and civil; and there was one John Ashley, a lawyer, was very friendly both the time before and now, speaking on my behalf, and pleading the errors of the indictment for me; but justice Street, who was judge of the court, would not regard, but over-ruled all. This justice Street said to some friends in the morning before my trial, that if he had been upon the bench the first sessions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have proceeded against me according to that law; and that he was sorry that ever I came before him; and yet he maliciously tendered the oath to me in the court again, when I was to have tried my traverse upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cause, and met with both him and justice Simpson, who first ensnared me with the oath at the first sessions; for Simpson's son was arraigned not long after, at the same bar, for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, (after the judges had returned me back from the King's Bench to Worcester,) said, now I was returned to them, I should lie in prison and rot, had his daughter (whom he so doted on, that she was called his idol) brought down dead from London in an hearse, to the same inn where he spake those words, and brought to Worcester to be buried within a few days after. And people took notice of the hand of God, how sudden it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his carriage afterwards shewed.

After I was carried back to prison, several came to see me, and amongst others the earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt so badly by me. He staid about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors in the indictment himself in writing.

The sessions being now over, and I fixed in prison by a premunire, my wife came up to me out of the north to be with me; and the assizes coming on soon after, in the sixth month, the state of my case being drawn up in writ-

ing, she and Thomas Lower delivered it to judge Wild. In it was set forth the occasion of my journey; the manner of my being taken and imprisoned; the proceedings of the several sessions against me; and the errors in the indictment by which I was premunured: which having had occasion to mention often before, I forbear to repeat here. When the judge had read it, he shook his head and said, we might try the validity or invalidity of the errors, if we would: and that was all they could get from him.

While thus I lay in prison, it came upon me to state our principle to the king, not with particular relation to my own sufferings, but for his better information concerning our principle, and us as a people. It was thus, and thus directed:

To the King.

‘The principle of the quakers is the Spirit of Christ, who died for us, and is risen for our justification; by which we know we are his, and he dwelleth in us by his Spirit; and by the Spirit of Christ we are led out of unrighteousness and ungodliness. It brings us to deny all plottings and contrivings against the king or any man; and the Spirit of Christ brings us to deny all manner of ungodliness, as lying, theft, murder, adultery, fornication and all uncleanness and debauchery, malice and hatred, deceit, cousining and cheating whatsoever, and the devil and his works. And the Spirit of Christ brings us to seek the peace and good of all men, and to live peaceably; and leads us from such evil works and actions as the magistrates’ sword takes hold upon. And our desire and labour is, that all, who profess themselves Christians, may walk in the Spirit of Christ; that they, through the Spirit, may mortify the deeds of the flesh, and by the sword of the Spirit may cut down sin and evil in themselves. Then the judges and other magistrates would not have so much work in punishing sin in the kingdom; neither then need kings or princes fear any of their subjects, if they all walked in the Spirit of Christ; for the fruits of the Spirit are love, righteousness, goodness, temperance, &c. And if all, that profess themselves Christians, did walk in the Spirit of Christ, and by it did mortify sin and evil, it would be a great ease to the magistrates and rulers, and would free them from a great deal of trouble; for it would lead all men and women to do unto all others, as they would have others do unto them; and so the royal law of liberty would be fulfilled. For if all, that are called Christians,

did walk in the Spirit of Christ, by it to have the evil spirit and its fruits mortified and cut down in them; then, not being led by the evil spirit, but by the good Spirit of Christ, the fruits of the good Spirit would appear in all men and women; for as people are led by the good Spirit of Christ, it leads them out of sin and evil, which the magistrates' sword takes hold upon, and so would be an ease to the magistrates. But as people err from this good Spirit of Christ and follow the evil spirit, which leads them into sin and evil; that spirit brings the magistrate into a great deal of trouble, to execute the law upon the sinners and transgressors of the good Spirit. That Spirit that leads people from all manner of sin and evil, is one with the magistrates' power, and with the righteous law; for the law being added because of transgression, that Spirit that leads out of transgression, must needs be one with that law that is against transgressors. So that Spirit that leads out of transgression, is the good Spirit of Christ, and is one with the magistrates in the higher power, and owns it and them: but that spirit that leads into transgression, is the bad spirit, and is against the law, and against the magistrates, and makes them a great deal of troublesome work. Now the manifestation of the good Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; and no man can profit in the things of God, but by the Spirit of God, which brings to deny all sin and evil. It is said of Israel, Nehem. ix. "The Lord gave them his good Spirit to instruct them, yet they rebelled against it." But if all people did mind this manifestation of the Spirit, which God hath given to instruct them, it would lead them to forsake all manner of sin and evil, enmity, hatred, malice, and all manner of unrighteousness and ungodliness, and to mortify it. And then in the Spirit of Christ they would have fellowship and unity, which is the bond of peace; and then would love and peace, which are the fruits of the good Spirit, flow among all them that are called Christians.

Now we are a people, who in tenderness of conscience to the command of Christ and of his apostle, cannot swear; for we are commanded in Matth. v. and James v. to keep to yea and nay, and not to swear at all, not by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest we go into evil, and fall into condemnation. The words of Christ are these, Ye have heard that it hath been said by (or to) them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; these were true and solemn oaths, which they who made ought to perform in old time: but these Christ and his apostle forbids in the

gospel times, as well as false and vain oaths. Now if we could take any oath at all, we could take the oath of allegiance, as knowing that king Charles was by the power of God brought into England, and set up king of England, &c. over the heads of our old persecutors; and as for the pope's supremacy, we do utterly deny it. But Christ and the apostle having commanded us not to swear, but to keep to yea and nay, we dare not break their commands; and therefore many have put the oaths to us, as a snare, that they might make a prey of us. So our denying to swear is not in wilfulness, stubbornness, or contempt, but only in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle; and we are content, if we break our yea and nay, to suffer the same penalty as they should that break their oaths. We desire therefore that the king would take this into his consideration, and how long we have suffered in this case. This is from one who desires the eternal good and prosperity of the king, and of all his subjects in the Lord Jesus Christ.'

G. F.

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body, and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some friends began to doubt of my recovery; and I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses. Yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. And one night, as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord, which was over all, it was said unto me, that the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for him, before he took me to himself.

Endeavours were used to get me released, at least for a time, till I was grown stronger, but the way of effecting it proving difficult and tedious (for the king was not willing to release me by any other way than a pardon, being told he could not legally do it; and I was not willing to be released by a pardon, which he would readily have given me, because I did not look upon that way as agreeable with the innocency of my cause) a friend, one Edward Pitway, having occasion to speak with justice Parker upon some other business, desired him to give order to the jailer, that in regard of my weakness, I might have liberty to go out of the jail into the city. Whereupon justice Parker wrote the following letter to the jailer, and sent it to the friend to deliver.

‘ Mr. Harris,

‘ I have been much importuned by some friends to George Fox to write to you. I am informed by them that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indisposed; what lawful favour you can do for the benefit of the air for his health, pray shew him. I suppose the next term they will make application to the king. I am, Sir,

Your loving friend,

HENRY PARKER.

Evesham, the 8th of
October, 1674.

After this my wife went to London, and spake with the king, laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment, with the manner of my being taken, and the justice's proceedings against me, in tendering me the oath as a snare, whereby they had premunired me; so that I being now his prisoner, it was in his power and at his pleasure to release, which she desired. The king spake kindly to her, and referred her to the lord-keeper; to whom she went, but could not obtain what she desired, for he said the king could not release me otherwise than by a pardon; and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. And if I would have been freed by a pardon, I needed not have lain so long, for the king was willing to have given me a pardon long before, and told Thomas Moore that I need not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man, that was as innocent as a child, had had a pardon granted him; yet I could not consent to have one. For I had rather have lain in prison all my days, than have come out in any way dishonourable to truth; wherefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. And thereupon, having first had the opinion of a counsellor upon it (one Thomas Corbet of London, whom Richard Davis of Welchpool was well acquainted with, and recommended to me) an habeas corpus was sent down to Worcester to bring me up once more to the King's Bench bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The under-sheriff set forward with me on the fourth day of the twelfth month, there being with us in the coach the clerk of the peace and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now sought to ensnare me in discourse; but I saw and shunned him. He asked me what I would do with the errors in the indictment? I told him they should be tried, and every action should crown itself. He quarrelled with me for calling their ministers priests:

I asked him if the law did not call them so? Then he asked me what I thought of the church of England; were there no Christians among them? I said, they are all called so, and there are many tender people amongst them. We came to London on the eighth of the twelfth month, and on the eleventh I was brought before the four judges at the King's Bench, where counsellor Corbet pleaded my cause. He started a new plea; for he told the judges that they could not imprison any man upon a premunire. Whereupon the chief justice Hales said, Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term with this plea: he answered, we could not get a copy of the return and of the indictment. The judge replied, you should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner. Then said judge Wild, Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms, and if it be so, as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other courts. Corbet was positive that by law they could not imprison upon a premunire. The judge said, there is summons in the statute. Yes, said Corbet, but summons is not imprisonment; for summons is in order to a trial. Well, said the judge, we must have time to look in our books and consult the statutes: so the hearing was put off till the next day. The next day they chose rather to let this plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross, that the judges were all of opinion that the indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to have my liberty. There were that day several great men, lords and others, who had the oaths of allegiance and supremacy tendered unto them in open court, just before my trial came on; and some of my adversaries moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them I was a dangerous man to be at liberty. But judge Hales, who was then chief-justice of England, said he had indeed heard some such reports of me, but he had also heard many more good reports of me; and so he and the rest of the judges ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months for nothing, I was fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors in my indictment, without receiving any pardon, or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise, and to the magnifying of his name for ever! amen. Counsellor Corbet, who pleaded for me, got great fame by it, for many of the lawyers came to him, and told him he had brought that to light which had not been

known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a premunire; and after the trial a judge said to him, you have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court.

During the time of my imprisonment in Worcester, (notwithstanding my illness and want of health, and my being so often hurried to and fro to London and back again) I writ several books for the press; one whereof was called, *A Warning to England*. Another was, *To the Jews*, proving by the Prophets that the Messiah is come. Another, concerning Inspiration, Revelation, and Prophecy. Another, Against all vain Disputes. Another, For all Bishops and Ministers, to try themselves by the Scriptures. Another, To such as say we love none but ourselves. Another entituled, *Our Testimony concerning Christ*. And another little book concerning Swearing; being the first of those two that were given to the parliament. Besides these I writ many papers and epistles to friends, to encourage and strengthen them in their services for God, which some (who had made profession of truth, but had given way to a seducing spirit, and were departed from the unity and fellowship of the gospel, in which friends stand) endeavoured to discourage them from, especially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing the affairs of the church of Christ; which may be read amongst the rest of my epistles.

Now after I was set at liberty, I visited the friends in London, and having for some time been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went down to Kingston for a little season. But I did not stay long there, but having visited the friends there, I returned to London again, and writ a paper to the parliament, and sent several books to them. And a great book against swearing had been delivered to them a little before, the reasonableness whereof had so much influence upon many of them, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief therein if they had sat longer. I staid in and near London until the yearly meeting came on, to which friends came up from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond the seas; and a glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God.

After this meeting was over, the parliament being also risen (who had done nothing for nor against friends) I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of friends there, and had a glorious meeting with some of them at John Elson's in the morning before I came away, I set forward from thence with my

wife and her daughter Susan, by coach (for I was not able to travel on horseback) towards the north; many friends accompanying us as far as Highgate, and some to Dunstable, where we lodged that night. Afterwards travelling on, we visited friends and were visited by them at Newport-Pagnell, Northampton, and Cossel, where (amongst other friends that came to see us) there came a woman, and brought her daughter, for me to see how well she was, putting me in mind, that when I was there before, she had brought her to me, much troubled with the disease called the king's evil, and had then desired me to pray for her; which I did, and she grew well upon it, praised be the Lord! From Cossel we went on by John Simcock's and William Gandy's, to Warrington and Preston, and so to Lancaster; friends visiting us, and we them, as we went.

I had not been at Lancaster since I was carried prisoner from thence by the under-sheriff and jailer, towards Scarborough-castle in Yorkshire, and now I found the town full of people; for it was both the fair time there, and the trained-bands were met there also upon a general muster. There were also many friends in town from several parts of the country, because the quarterly meeting for the county was to be there the next day. I staid two nights and a day at Lancaster, and visited friends both at their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable; for the Lord's power was over all, and none meddled with us. Here met us Thomas Lower and his wife, with Sarah Fell, James Lancaster, and Leonard Fell, and the next day after the meeting, being the twenty-fifth of the fourth month, we went over the sands, with several other friends, and came safe to Swarthmore.

After I had been a while at Swarthmore, several friends from divers places and parts of the nation came to visit me, and some out of Scotland; by whom I understood that there were four young students of Aberdeen convinced there this year, at a dispute held there by Robert Barclay and George Keith, with some of the scholars of that university.

Among others of the neighbourhood that came to visit me, colonel Kirby was one, who had been one of my great persecutors, but now he said he came to bid me welcome into the country; and carried himself at this time in appearance very lovingly. Yet before I went from Swarthmore, he sent for the constables of Ulverstone, and ordered them to come up to me, and to tell me, that we must have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for if we had they were

commanded by him to break them up; and they were to come the next first-day after. That day we had a very precious meeting there, and the Lord's presence was wonderfully amongst us, and the constables did not come to disturb us; but the meetings have been quiet since, and have encreased.

The illness I got in my imprisonment at Worcester had so much weakened me, that it was long before I recovered my natural strength again. For which reason, and for that I had many things lay upon me to write, both for public and private service, I did not stir much abroad during the time that I now staid in the north, but when friends were not with me, spent pretty much time in writing books and papers for truth's service. For while I was at Swarthmore, I gave forth several books to be printed, viz.

One concerning Swearing.

Another, shewing that none are successors to the Prophets and Apostles, but who succeed them in the same power and Holy Ghost that they were in.

Another, shewing that Possession is above Profession, and how the Professors now do persecute Christ in Spirit, as the professing Jews did persecute him outwardly in the days of his flesh.

Another little book, to the Magistrates of Dantzic.

Another, called Cain against Abel, or an Answer to the New Englandmen's Laws.

Another, to Friends at Nevis, concerning Watching.

Another, a general Epistle to all Friends in America.

Another, concerning Cæsar's due, and God's due, &c.

Another, concerning Ordering of Families.

Another, entituled, The Spiritual Man judgeth all things.

Another, concerning the Higher Power.

Besides these I writ several epistles to friends, both here in England and beyond the seas, and answers to divers papers concerning the running out of some, who opposed the order of the gospel, and had stirred up a great deal of strife and contention in Westmoreland. Wherefore I was moved to write a few lines particularly to friends there, directed thus :

This is for Friends in Westmoreland.

'All live in the power of God, and in his Light and Spirit, which did first convince you, that in it ye may keep in the ancient unity, and in the humility, and in the fear of the Lord, and his gentle and peaceable wisdom, which is easy to be intreated; that in the same Power, Light, and Spirit of God ye may all be serviceable in your men's and women's meetings, in the possession of the gospel-order; which gospel, the power of God, hath brought life and immortality to light; that in this ye may see over him that hath darkened you. And in this power, the glorious gospel, no apostates can come; for the power of God was before the apostates were, or the fall of man and woman was, or the devil either, and will be when he is gone. Therefore praise God in his glorious gospel, in which you have an eternal fellowship in the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ, which is not of man nor by man. And therefore all friends in Westmoreland, keep in the power of God, which will and must preserve and cover you, if ye be preserved. Therefore let your faith stand in the power of God, and not in the wisdom of men's words, lest ye fall; for in God's power ye have peace, life, and unity, and for want of keeping in God's power, and in his righteousness and Holy Ghost, is all this strife come among you.'

G. F.

I also writ the following general epistle to friends at the yearly meeting in London:

'My dear friends and brethren,
'Whom the Lord hath preserved by his eternal power to this day, over and through many troubles, storms, and tempests, and prisons; and therefore let every one's faith stand in the power of God, which is over the devil, and before he was. So your faith standing in the invisible power of God, it stands in that which does not change; and the faith, that Christ Jesus, the power of God, is the author of, it must stand in the power of God; so then it stands in that which is over all, in which they are established. And this the apostle brought the church and the true Christians to; and so ought all the true Christians' faith now, which Christ is the author of, it must stand in the power of God; in which power of God the everlasting kingdom stands; and so as every one's faith stands in the power of God, this keeps all in the power of godliness.

‘ For as it was in the days of the apostles, when some were crying up Paul and Apollos (and so forth) he judged them as carnal; and exhorted them, and admonished them, that their faith should stand in the power of God. So it was not to stand in men, nor in the words of man’s wisdom, but in the power of God; and he said he would not know the speech of them, but the power amongst them; for the kingdom of God is not in word but in power. And so it is to be now; every one’s faith must stand in the power of God, and not in men; nor their speeches of the good words. For we have seen by experience, when they begin to cry up men, and their faith to stand in them, such men as would have people’s faith stand in them, love popularity, and bring not people’s faith to stand in the power of God, and such cannot exalt Christ; and when such fall, they draw a great company after them. And therefore the apostle would not know such after the flesh, but would know them that were in the power and Spirit; and struck down every one’s faith that stood in the words of man’s wisdom, that they might stand in the power of God; and so it must be now. And all, whose faith doth not stand in the power of God, they cannot exalt his kingdom that stands in power; and therefore every one’s faith must stand in the power of God.

‘ And the apostle denied popularity when he judged the Corinthians, for looking at Paul and Apollos to be carnal; and such are carnal still; and therefore all should know one another in the Spirit, life and power, and look at Christ; and this keeps all low and down in the humility. And they, whose faith stands in men, will make sects; as in the days of J. N. and J. P. and since in others: and such their faith Christ is not the author of; and if he be, they have erred from it, and made shipwreck of it. And all those that are in the true faith, that stands in the power of God, they will judge them as carnal, and judge down that carnal part in them, that cries up Paul or Apollos, that their faith may stand in the power of God, and that they may exalt Christ, the author of it. For every one’s eye ought to be to Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith; and every just man and woman may live by their faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of; and by this faith every man and woman may see God, who is invisible; which faith gives the victory, by which he hath access to God. And so every one’s faith and hope standing in the power of God, in it they all have unity and victory, and access to God’s throne of grace, in which faith they do please God, which Christ is the author of.

And so by that faith they are saved; and by this faith they obtain the good report, and subdue all the mountains, that have been betwixt them and God.

‘ So that power hath kept and preserved friends over their persecutors, and over the wrath of men, and above the spoilings of their goods, and imprisonments; as seeing God that hath created all, and gives the increase of all, and upholds all by his word and power; therefore let every one’s faith be in his power; and here in this no schism or sect can come, for it is over them, and before they were, and will be, when they are gone. But perfect unity is in the truth and in the Spirit, that does circumcise the body of death, and that puts off the sins of the flesh, and plunges it down with the Spirit; and in the Spirit of God there is a perfect fellowship; and Christ is the minister of this circumcision and baptism.

‘ So this is upon me from the Lord, to write unto you all, that every one of your faith, that Jesus is the author of, may stand in the power of God; and from the Lord I do warn you, and all every where to the same. For if a star should fall, which has been a light, either the earth or the sea does receive it; that is, the earthly mind, or the foaming, raging people: though neither the seed, nor light, nor power, nor truth ever fell, nor the faith itself, the gift of God; but men going from it, then they become unsavoury.

‘ For Adam, whilst he kept in truth and obeyed the command of God, he was happy; but when he disobeyed the Lord, he fell under the power of Satan and became unhappy, though he might talk after of his experiences in Paradise; but he had lost his image, and his power and dominion, that God created him in.

‘ And the Jews, after they received the law of God, as long as they kept the law of God, which was just, holy, good and perfect, it kept them good, just, and holy, and savoury; but when then turned their backs off the Lord, and forsook his law, then they came under the power of darkness, and under the powers of the earth, and were trodden under as unsavoury.

‘ And so the Christians, they were called a city set on a hill, the light of the world, and the salt of the earth; but when they forsook the power of God, and their faith stood in words and men, and not in the power, then their walls fell down, though the power in itself stood; and they lost their hill, and their saltness, and their shining. And so as Christendom now does confess, they are not in the same power and spirit as the apostles were in; so not in the

same salt, nor upon the same hill. So they came to be trodden under, and the beast, and the whore, and the false prophet are uppermost; the unsavoury. So their dead faith is in men and in words, and therefore they are full of sects, and one against another.

‘ And now the everlasting gospel, the power of God, is preached again, which was before the devil was, that had darkened man; and by this power of God, the gospel, life and immortality are come to light again. And therefore every one’s faith is to stand in this power, the gospel, that hath brought life and immortality to light in them, and so to be heirs of the power of God, the gospel. And here have all men and women a right to the power of God, before the devil was; and the power of God is the authority of the men’s and the women’s-meetings, and of all the other meetings set up thereby.

‘ But now as the gospel is preached again, if your faith doth not stand in the power, but in men and in the wisdom of words, you will grow carnal; and such are for judgment, who cry up as they did, Paul and Apollos, and not Christ, the author of your faith. And they who love to be popular, would have people’s faith to stand in them, and such do not preach Christ, but themselves. But such as preach Christ and his gospel, would have every man and woman to be in the possession of it; and so to have every man and woman’s faith to stand in Christ, the author of it, and in the power of God, which was before the devil was, and it will be when he is gone. And their faith standing in the power of God, then nothing can get betwixt them and God; for if any should fall amongst us, as too many have done, then that leads its followers either into the waters, or into the earth.

‘ And if any should go from the spirit of prophecy, that did open to them, and from the power, they may speak their experiences, which the power hath opened to them formerly. And so might Adam and Eve speak of what they saw and enjoyed in Paradise; and so might Cain and Balaam of what they saw; and also the Jews, and Corah, and Dathan, who praised God on the banks, and saw the victory over Pharaoh, and they ate of the manna, and drank of the rock, and came to Mount Sinai, and saw the glory of the Lord. And so also might the false apostles speak of their experiences, and all those false Christians, that turned from the apostles and Christ. And so may such do now that err from the Spirit, that are come out of Egypt (in Spirit) and Sodom, and have known the raging of the Sodomites, as Lot did the outward, and the pur-

suit of the spiritual Egyptians, as the outward Jew did of the outward Egyptians; yet if they do not walk in the Spirit of God, and in the light, and in the grace, which keeps their hearts established and their words seasoned, and also their faith to stand in the power of God, in which the kingdom stands; they may go forth like the false Christians, and like the Jews, and like Adam and Eve, and Cain, and Corah, and Balaam, and be wandering stars, trees without fruit, and wells without water, and clouds without rain; and so come to be unsavoury and trodden down; and as Adam who lost Paradise, and the Jews who lost the Holy Land, not walking in the law, and keeping the command of God; and as the Christians, who lost the city, and the hill, and the salt, and the light since the apostle's days, and came to be unsavoury, and to be trodden under foot of men.

‘And therefore let every one's faith stand, as I said before, in the Lord's power, which is over all; through which they may be built upon the rock, and the foundation of God, the seed Christ Jesus, that bruises the head of the serpent; who was before he was, and will be when he is gone; who is the head of his church. So that all in Christ may be always fresh and green, for he is the green tree that never withers; and all are fresh and green, that are grafted into him, and abide in him fresh and green, and bring forth heavenly fresh fruits to the praise of God. And though Adam and Eve fell from Paradise, and the Jews fell from the law of God, and many of the Christians fell from their prophecies, and erred from the faith, and the Spirit, and the grace; and the stars have fallen, as was spoken of in the Revelations; yet the spirit, grace, faith and power of God remains.

‘And many such states have I seen within this twenty-eight years; though there is a state, that shall never fall, nor be deceived in the elect, before the world began; who are come to the end of the prophecies, and are in him, where they end, and renewed up into the image of God (by Christ) which man was in before he fell, in that power where he had dominion over all that God made: and not only so, but attain to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, who never fell. And in him is the sitting down in life eternal, where their feet stand sure and fast in the gospel, his power; and here their bread is sure, and he that eats this bread lives for ever.

‘And all friends and brethren, that do declare God's eternal truth, and word of life, live in it; and be seasoned with grace, and salted with the heavenly salt, that your

lives and conversations may preach wherever you come; that there be no rawness, nor no quenching of the Spirit, nor despising prophecy neither in men nor women. For all must meet in the faith, that Jesus is the author of, and in the light that comes from Jesus, and so grafted into the life, that your knowledge may be there one of another, in Christ. And that there may be none slothful, nor sitting down in earthly things, and minding them, like Demas of old; lest you clothe yourselves with another clothing, than you had at first; but all to keep chaste; for the chaste do follow the Lamb.

‘And friends, that are settled in places, that be ministers, possess, as if ye did not; married, as if ye were not; and be loose to the world in the Lord’s power; for God’s oil will be a top of all visible things, which makes his lamps to burn, and to give light afar off. And none strive nor covet to be rich in this world in these changeable things, that will pass away; but your faith to stand in the Lord God, who changes not, that created all, and gives the increase of all.

‘And now friends, concerning faithful men and women’s meetings, which were set up in God’s counsel; whoever should oppose them, and the authority and tenure of them, I say they, oppose the power of God; which is the authority of them; and they are no ministers of the gospel, nor of Christ, that oppose his power, which all are to possess. For the true ministers of Christ, that preach Christ and his gospel, (which is to be preached to all nations, as deceit is gone over all nations, and all nations have drunk the whore’s cup, and she hath them in her cage, her unclean power from the beast and dragon, out of the power of God, and out of truth and the Spirit of God the apostles were in; the power of God must come over all this again, and all the true ministers that preach the gospel,) the power of God, must bring all people into the possession of it again. I say, whosoever preaches the gospel of Christ and him to people or nations, and those people and nations receiving the gospel, they receive the power of God, that brings life and immortality to light in them; and they see over the devil that hath darkened them, and the beast, and the whore, and her cage. And so by the power of God, life and immortality are brought to light in them; then all these men and women being heirs of this power, the gospel, they are heirs of authority and power over the devil, beast, whore and dragon.

‘So all men and women, that be heirs of this power of God, it is their possession and portion; and they are to

labour in their possession and portion, and to do God Almighty's business and service in the possession of the power of God, the gospel, which is a joyful, glorious, everlasting order. And here is the authority of our men and women's-meetings, and other meetings in the name of Jesus, the gospel of Christ, the power of God, which is not of man, nor by man; and in this they are all to meet and to worship God; and by this they are all to act, and in this power they have all fellowship, a joyful fellowship, a joyful and comfortable assembly. And so this is the day in the eternal light, that all are to take their possessions of the gospel and its order, that power of God, which they are heirs of. And all the faithful men and women in every country, city, and nation, whose faith stands in the power of God, the gospel of Christ, and have received this gospel, and are in the possession of this gospel, the power of God; they have all right to the power in these meetings; for they be heirs of the power, which is the authority of the men's and women's meetings.

‘So here is God's choice (and not man's) by his power of his heirs, and they have all freedom in this gospel, the power of God, to go to the meetings, the men to the men's, and the women to the women's; for they are heirs of the power, which power is the gospel, not of man, nor by man, but from heaven; sent by the Holy Ghost, and received in the Holy Ghost; which hath brought life and immortality to light in them, and they see over enmity, and before it was, by the light, and the life, and immortality, which is brought to light in them.

‘So the devil, the author of enmity, cannot get into this authority and power, nor order, nor fellowship of the gospel, nor life, nor light, nor the fellowship in the Holy Spirit, nor into the unity of the faith, which gives victory over him that hath separated man from God, by which faith they have access to God; and into the unity of this faith the serpent cannot come, nor into the worship of God in spirit and truth; into this worship the devil cannot come, nor any enmity. So I say, that the serpent, the devil, is out of the fellowship of the gospel, out of the unity of the faith, and out of the order of the gospel, and out of the worship in spirit and truth; and they that be in this, be in unity over him. And therefore, as I said before, let every one's faith stand in the power of God, the glorious gospel, and all to walk as becomes the gospel and the order of it; and as every one hath received Christ Jesus, the Lord, so walk in him, and let him be their Lord and Orderer. For they that do preach the gospel of Christ

Jesus, it is to the intent that all might come to be heirs of the gospel, and into the possession of it; and to be heirs of Christ and of his government, of the increase of which there is no end; who is over all in his righteousness, and over all in his light, life, power and dominion. And therefore know one another in his power, his gospel, which is the authority of your meetings; and know one another in Christ Jesus, who is able to restore man out of the state of the fall, into the image of God, as he was in before he fell; and into that power and dominion, that man had before he fell, and into himself that never fell, where they shall go no more forth. And here is the rock and foundation of God that stands sure.

‘ And friends, be tender to the tender principle of God in all, and shun the occasion of vain disputes and janglings, both amongst yourselves and others; for that many times is like a blustering wind, that hurts and bruises the tender buds and plants. For the world, though they have the words, yet they be out of the life; and the apostle’s disputing with them, was to bring them to the life. And those disputers, that were amongst the Christians, about genealogies, and circumcision, and the law, and meats and drinks, and days, those came to be the worst sort of disputers, whom the apostles judged, for such destroyed people from the faith. And therefore did the apostles exhort the churches, that every one’s faith should stand in the power of God, and to look at Jesus, which was the author of it; and there every graft stands in Christ, the vine, quiet; where no blustering storms could hurt them, and there is the safety. And there all are of one mind, one faith, one soul, one spirit, baptized into one body with the one spirit, and made all to drink into one spirit, one church, one head, that is heavenly and spiritual; one faith in this head, Christ, who is the author of it, and hath the glory of it; one Lord to order all, who is the baptizer into this one body. So Christ hath the glory of this faith out of every man and woman; and God through him hath his glory, the creator of all in his power, the gospel that hath brought life and immortality to light in them; and their faith standing in it, they know the immortal God, and serve and worship him, in his spirit and in his truth; by which they are made God’s free men and women, from him that is out of the truth.

‘ And now friends, all you that have been ancient labourers, and have known the dealings of the Lord these twenty years (more or less) as I have often said to you, to draw up what you can, of that which the Lord hath

carried you through by his power, the passages and sufferings; and how by the Lord ye have been supported from the first: so that the Lord may be exalted by his power now, and in the ages to come, who hath been the only support, defence, and stay, of his people all along, over all to himself; to whom be all glory and praise for ever and ever, amen: who deserves it in his church throughout all ages, from his living members, who return the praise to the living God, who lives and reigns over all, blessed for ever; who is the life, and strength, and health, and length of the days of all his people. And therefore let there be no boasting but in the Lord, and in his power and kingdom; and that keeps all in the humility.

‘And friends, in the Lord’s power and truth, what good you can do for friends that be in prison, or sufferers, as to the informing of them, or helping of them, every one bend yourselves to the Lord’s power and spirit, to do his will and his business; and in that all will have a fellow feeling of one another’s condition, in bonds, or in what trials and tribulations soever: you will have a fellow feeling one of another, having one head, and one Lord, and being one body in him. For God’s heavenly flail hath brought out his seed, and his heavenly plough hath turned up the fallow ground, and his heavenly seed is sown by the heavenly man, which brings forth fruits to the heavenly sower in some fifty, sixty, and an hundred fold in this life: and such in the world without end will have life eternal. Oh, therefore all keep within, and let your lights shine, and your lamps burn; and that you all may be the wells full of the living water, and the trees full of the living fruit of God’s planting, whose fruit is unto holiness, and end is everlasting life.

‘And so the Lord God of power preserve you all in his power, and let all your faith stand therein, that you may have both unity in the faith, and in the power; and by this faith and belief you may be all grafted into Christ, the sure root, and rock of ages, where the eternal sun of righteousness shines, in the heavenly and eternal day, upon his plants and grafts. And this sun never sets nor goes down: and the heavenly springs of life and showers are known to water and nourish the grafts, and plants, and buds, that they may always be kept fresh and green, and never wither; bringing forth fresh and green, and living fruit, which is offered up to the living God; and he is glorified in that you bear much fruit. And so, as I said before, the Lord God Almighty keep you, and preserve you all in his power, light, and life, over death and darkness; that in

the light, life, and power of God, you may spread his truth abroad, and be valiant for it upon the earth, answering that of God in all: that with it, the minds of people may be turned to God and Christ, so that with it they may come to know the Lord Christ Jesus in the new covenant, in which the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters do the sea; and his life must go over death, and his light must go over darkness, and the power of God must go over the power of Satan.

‘ And so all ye that be in the light, life, and power, keep the heavenly fellowship in the heavenly power, and the heavenly unity in the heavenly divine faith, and the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly Prince of princes’ peace; who bruises the head of the enmity and of the adversary, and reconciles man to God, and all things in heaven and in the earth: a blessed reconciliation. And let every one’s faith stand in the power of God, which Jesus Christ is the author of, that all may know their crown of life. For all outward things without the substance, the life, the power, is as the husk without the kernel, and doth not nourish the immortal soul, nor the new-born babe; but that which it is nourished by is the milk of the word, by which it is born again, and groweth by it in the heavenly life, strength, and wisdom. And the gospel, which is not of man, nor by man, but is the power of God, and answers the truth in all, all the possessors of it are to see that all walk according to it; which everlasting order is ordained of God already, and all the possessors of him possess their joy, their comfort, and salvation. So with my love unto you all, with him that reigns and is over all, from everlasting to everlasting.

‘ So dwell in the love of God, which passeth knowledge, which love of God doth edify the living members of the body of Christ; which love of God you come to be built up in, and in the holy faith which Christ is the author of, that stands in his power. And this love of God it brings you to bear all things, and endure all things, and hope all things. From this love of God which you have in Christ Jesus, nothing will be able to separate you; neither powers nor principalities, heights nor depths, things present nor things to come, prisons, nor spoiling of goods, neither death nor life. So the love of God keeps above all that which would separate from God; and makes you more than conquerors in Christ Jesus: and therefore in this love of God dwell, which you have in Christ Jesus. And that with the same love you may love one another, and all the

workmanship of God; so that you may glorify God with your bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's. Amen.'

G. F.

'All friends sit low in the life, and the Lord's power, and keep your place in it, till the Lord and Master of the feast bid you sit higher; lest you take the highest place and be put down with shame. He that hath an ear let him hear.'

G. F.

'And, friends, take heed of speaking the things of God in the words that men's wisdom hath taught; for those words will lift up the foolish, that he erred from the spirit of God: which words and wisdom are for condemnation, and that which is lifted up by them, and they that thereby speak the things of God in them. So that old house with its things must be thrown under the foot of the new birth.

'And friends, I desire that you may all keep the holy order, which is in the gospel, the glorious order in the power of God, which the devil is out of; which was before all his orders were, and before they made any in the world.

'In this gospel, the power of God, is the glorious order, this joyful order keeps all hearts pure to God, an everlasting peace, unity and order; feel it, and keep the order of it, both men and women, and come to be heirs of the gospel, which brings life and immortality to light; and to see over that power of darkness, by him, who was before the power of death was: in this is the holy order of love and peace. And so keep in this, that keeps you always pure; and what men and women act in this, they act in that which will stand when the world is gone. This is not received of man, nor by man: every man and woman must feel this power, that brings life and immortality to light through the gospel; in that feel this, then heirs of this gospel. This is their inheritance and portion, which they have right to, and to membership: every man and woman inherit it, possess it; every one take your possessions of this gospel of salvation, and of its holy orders.

'There hath been some scruple about men and women's meetings; men and women in the gospel are heirs of the power, which was before the devil was; heirs of this, then enter into the possession of it, and do the Lord's business therein: and every one take the care of God's honour, and to keep all things in righteousness and holiness, which becomes God's house. And in that which honours the Lord God, it eased me when those meetings were set up; for men and women, that are heirs of the gospel, have

right to the gospel order, and it belongs to them. Then take your possessions, and practise in it; and be not talkers only, but live and walk in the gospel, the power of God, which is the authority of your meetings.' G. F.

Swarthmore, the 28th of the
Third month, 1676.

[Read at the Yearly Meeting in London, 1676.]

During this time also I collected together as many as I could, of the epistles I had written in former years to friends. I made a collection too of the several papers that I had written to O. Cromwell, and his son Richard, in the time of their protectorships; and to the parliaments and magistrates that were in their times. And after I had gathered them together, I collected also the papers I had written to king Charles the Second, since his return, and to his council and parliaments, and the justices or other magistrates under him. I made also another collection of certificates, which I had received from divers governors of places, judges, justices, parliament men, and others, for the clearing of me from many slanders, which the envious priests and professors, both here and beyond the seas, had cast upon me; and this I did for the truth's sake, as knowing that their design in slandering me, was to defame the truth published by me, and hinder thereby (if they could) the spreading thereof amongst the people. Besides these I made two books of collections; the one was a list or catalogue of the names of those friends who went first forth out of the North of England, when truth first brake forth there, to proclaim the day of the Lord through this nation. The other was of the names of those friends that went first forth to preach the gospel in other nations, countries, and places, and in what years, and to what parts they went.

I made also another collection in two books; one of epistles and letters from friends and others, on several occasions, to me: the other of letters of mine to friends and others.

I writ also a book of the types and figures of Christ, with their significations; and many other things, which will be of service to truth and friends in times to come.

I took notice also of those who had run out from truth, and drawn others out after them, and turned against truth and friends at several times since the first breaking forth of truth in this latter age, and what became of them; noting particularly the repentance and return of such of them as came back to truth again. But some ran quite

out, and never returned again, but were cut off in their gainsaying and rebellion; for the word and power of God hath blasted and is blasting them, and the holy seed hath ground, and is grinding them to pieces. And this I have observed, that they who have been convinced, and have not lived and walked in the truth, have been the worst enemies to the truth, and done most hurt amongst friends in the truth, and to others: and in these I have seen fulfilled what the Lord did long since shew me, that such should be greater deceivers than all the priests and professors. For such as came as far as Cain, and Balaam, and Corah, and Dathan, and could preach Christ, and say they had preached in his name; and such as came to be apostles, and had tasted of the power of Christ, and then turned from it; such could yet speak their old experiences, and have the good words, like Corah and Balaam: but not keeping in the life and truth, such deceived the hearts of the simple both then and now; and such come to be of the devil, who abode not in the truth; as Cain, and all the Jews, that abode not in the truth, were. For though Cain did sacrifice to God, and did talk with God, and the Jews could talk of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, yet Christ told them they were of their father, the devil. In like manner, though they who are called Christians, can talk of Christ, and use his and his apostles' and disciples' words, yet not abiding in the truth, and power, and spirit, that the apostles were in, they are of the devil, out of truth, and do his work. And so are all these that have been convinced of God's eternal truth since it sprang up in this nation, that have not abode in the light, and in the spirit and power of Christ Jesus; but have turned against the power, and have opposed the work thereof; though they may retain their former experiences, and be able to speak many good words, yet not living in the life and power that gave them those experiences, they live in the power of darkness, which is of the devil: and by the light and truth both he and they are condemned; and must own their condemnations if ever they come to truth again. For to resist the heavenly power, and to oppose the workings and divine manifestations thereof through any, is not a light matter. And as I had been moved of the Lord to travel in his power round about this nation, and in other parts, to preach the everlasting gospel, and to declare the word of life, which was in the beginning, through many imprisonments, hardships, sufferings, and trials; so I was afterwards moved to travel in the same heavenly power about the nation again (and to write to such places where I came not)

to recommend unto friends the setting up of the quarterly and monthly meetings in all counties, for the looking after the poor, and taking care for orderly proceedings in marriages: and other matters relating to the church of Christ: though some meetings for this end were settled in the North of England in the year 1653.

And after this also, truth still spreading further over the nation, and friends encreasing in number, I was moved by the same eternal power to recommend the setting up the women's meetings also; that all, both male and female, that had received the gospel, the word of eternal life, might come into the order of the gospel, brought forth by the power of God, and might act for God in the power, and therein do business and service for him in his church. All the faithful must labour in God's vineyard, they being his hired servants, and he having given them the earnest of his spirit. For a master that hires a servant, and gives him the earnest of his hire, expects he should do his work, after he knows his will, in the outward creation; so all God's people, that be of the new creation, and have received the earnest of his Spirit, ought to labour with, by, and in his spirit, power, and grace, and faith in the light, in God's vineyard, that they may have their wages every one, male and female, when they have done God's work and business in his day, which is eternal life. But none can labour in his vineyard, and do his work and will, but as they walk in the heavenly divine light, grace, and spirit of Christ; which is, hath been, and is, my travail and labour in the Lord to turn all to.

But some that professed truth, and had made a great shew therein, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into jangling, division, and a spirit of separation, endeavoured to discourage friends, (especially the women) from their godly care and watchfulness in the church over one another in the truth, opposing their meetings, which in the power of the Lord were set up for that end and service. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it forth among friends, for the discovering of that spirit by which those opposers were acted, and its work and way, in and by which it wrought; and to warn friends of it, that they might not be betrayed by it:

‘ All my dear friends, live in the seed of peace, Christ Jesus, in whom ye have all life. And that spirit that comes amongst you to raise up strife, is out of Christ; for it is the spirit that is not easy to be intreated, nor gentle, so not of the wisdom of God, which is justified of her

children; and so they that follow that spirit, are none of Wisdom's children. Now there is a spirit that hath made a separation, and has been against men and women's meetings, yet has set up one of their own, whom they have given power to; and that none shall sit amongst them, but whom they give power to, but shall be looked upon as usurpers of authority. Now this spirit and its work is not of God, though it has made some jumble amongst some; and the path it may travel in, is through the earthly affections, or the unestablished, or apostates. But all that are in the life, and spirit, and light, and grace, and truth, and the power of God, bar it out; and such as sit under their own vine, Christ Jesus, and are grafted into him, have no need of their exhortation or counsel; for the true believers are entered into their rest. And therefore all keep in the gospel of peace, and they that be heirs of the kingdom, and of it, keep in your possession of it.

Now some that are of this spirit have said to me, they see no service in women's meetings. My answer is, and hath been, to them and such, if they be blind and without sight, they should not oppose others, for there is none imposes any thing upon them; for God never received the blind for a sacrifice, neither can his people. But Christ has enlightened all, and to as many as receive him, he gives power to become the sons of God; and such as be heirs of his power, and of his gospel, which brings life and immortality to light, they can see over him that has darkened them; and all such do keep the order of the gospel, the power of God, and their meetings in it, which preserves them in life and in immortality. And all these do see the great service of the men's and of the women's meetings, in the order of the gospel, which is the power of God; for they are meet-helps in this power, which is the authority of their meetings. And now I say to all you, that be against women's meetings or the men's, and say you see no service for the women's meetings, and oppose them, you are therein out of the power of God, and his spirit you live not in. For God saw a service for the assemblies of the women in the time of the law, about those things that appertained to his worship and service, and to the holy things of his tabernacle; and so do they in the same spirit see now their service in the gospel; many things in those meetings being more proper for the women to see into than the men; and they in the power and wisdom of God may inform the men of such things as are not proper for them; and the men may inform the women of such things as are not proper for them, as meet-helps each unto ano-

ther. For in the time of the law, by the law of God, the women were to offer as well as the men; and so in the time of the gospel much more are they to offer their spiritual sacrifices; for they are all called, both men and women, a royal priesthood, and they are of the household of faith, and they are the living stones that make up the spiritual building, which Christ is the head of, and are to be encouraged in their labour in the gospel; for all things that they do, both men and women, are to be done in the power of God. And all such as see no service for these women's meetings, or the men's, but do oppose them, and make strife amongst friends, are in the same spirit of the world, that is against and forbids our other meetings; and are in the same spirit of the world, that hath been and is against women's speaking in meetings, and says they must be silent, &c. though the same apostle commands that men should keep silence as well as the women, if there were not an interpreter. And therefore all friends, you may see that the spirit of the world hath entered such opposers, though they come under another colour; for they would not have us to meet at all. And these are against the women's meetings, and some of them against the men's also, and say they see no service for them: then they may hold their tongues, and not oppose them that do see their service for God in these meetings.

‘ Therefore all you that feel the power of God, and your service for God, as aforesaid, in them, you men and women, keep your meetings in the power of God, the authority of them, as they were settled in it, and then ye will be preserved both over this spirit that opposes them, and over the spirit of the world that opposes your other meetings; for it is all one in the ground, and would bring you into bondage. For such are out of the peaceable gospel who oppose its order; and out of the faith that works by love; and out of the wisdom that is gentle, and easy, and peaceable, &c. and out of the kingdom that stands in peace and joy. Therefore keep over that spirit that sows discord or dissension, and would draw you from your habitation and possession in the order of the gospel; for it is the same spirit that deceived Adam and Eve, by which they lost their habitation in the righteousness and holiness, and their dominion; and so that spirit got over them, and so it would get over you. One while it will tell you it sees no service for your meetings, and another time oppose you; but I say, this is the blind spirit, which is out of the power of God, and which the power of God is over. And

therefore keep in the power, that ye may stand up for your liberty in Christ Jesus, males and females, heirs of him and of his gospel, and his order; and so stand up for your liberty in the gospel, and in the faith, which Christ Jesus hath been the author of; for if ye lose it, and let another spirit get over you, ye will not so soon regain it again. For I knew the devil would bestir himself in his instruments, when men's and women's meetings came to be set up, and all in the power, light, and truth, and heirs of the gospel, to take their possession of it in every county and city, in it to walk, and to watch one over another, and in it to take care of God's glory and honour, and his precious truth; and to see that all did walk in the truth, and as becomes the gospel, and to see that nothing was lacking; and so whatsoever was decent, modest, virtuous, lovely, comely, righteous, and of good report, to follow after; and to admonish and exhort all that was not faithful, and to rebuke all that did evil; I knew that this would give such a check to all loose speakers, talkers, and walkers, I did not expect but that there would be an opposition against such meetings. But never heed, truth will come over them all, and is over them all, and faith must have the victory; for the gospel and its order is everlasting, and the seed (Christ) is the beginning and the ending, and will out-last all; the amen, in whom ye have peace. I say all that do oppose the men's and women's meetings, or that marriages should be laid before them, or of recording of condemnations of sin and evil, or admonishing or exhorting such as walk not in the truth; they are of a loose spirit, and their spirits tend to looseness: and let them take them that will, for truth will not have them, nor will have none of their sacrifice; for nothing is accepted of God but what is done in truth, and in his Spirit, which is peaceable. And the authority of our men's and women's meetings is the power of God; and all the heirs of the gospel are heirs of that authority and dignity; and this is of God, and shall answer the witness of God in all. And the greatest opposers of this practice and work will be, and are, such as have been convinced of God's truth, but have not lived in it; and such were the greatest troublers of the church in Moses's day, and in the days of the apostles: but mark their end, and read what became of them all. And therefore all keep your habitation in truth, and therein ye may see what became of all the opposers of it for twenty years past: they are all gone, and the truth lives and reigns, and the seed is over all, and all is one in it, in rest, peace, and

life everlasting; and therein they sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the amen.

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the
8th month, 1676.

In this year, while I was at Swarthmore, died William Lampit, the old priest of Ulverstone (which is the parish that Swarthmore is in.) He was an old deceiver, and perverter of the right way of the Lord, and a persecutor of the people of God; and much contest I had with him when I first came into those parts. He had been an old false prophet; for in the year 1652 he prophesied (and said he would wage his life upon it) that the quakers would all vanish, and come to nought within half a year: but he came to nought himself. For he continued in his lying and false accusing of God's people, till a little before he died, and then he cried for a little rest: and to one of his hearers that came to visit him before he died, he said, I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die.

Now after I had finished those services which lay upon me then to do, feeling my spirit drawn again towards the south, (though I was yet but weakly, and not able to travel far in a day) I left Swarthmore on the twenty-sixth day of the first month, 1677, and went to Thomas Pearson's at Powbank, in Westmoreland, where I had a meeting the next day; and went from thence to Thomas Cam's, at Cam's-Gill, whither Robert Widders with his wife, and several other friends, came to see me before I left the country, and to be at the meeting there the next day, which was very large, and in which I was largely drawn forth in testimony to the truth. After the meeting I had much discourse with some of that meeting, who at that time were not in unity with friends of the quarterly meeting they belonged to; but afterwards several of them that were somewhat tender, came to see their error, and gave forth condemnations against themselves. Next day John Blaykling came to Thomas Cam's, to bring me to his house at Drawell in Sedberg, in Yorkshire, whither I went with him, visiting friends in the way. I staid at Drawell two or three nights, having meetings there and thereabouts; for while I was there, the men and women's meetings were held there, which were very large and precious. And on the first-day following I had a meeting at Brigflats, not far off, where were most part of the friends from

the several meetings round about, and a great concourse of other people also, so that it was thought there were five or six hundred people; and a very good meeting it was, wherein truth was largely declared and precious opened, to the comforting and refreshing the faithful, and the drawing near them that were afar off. After this I had another meeting at John Blaykling's, where were many friends that were going to the quarterly meeting at Kendal; with them my wife went back (who, with her daughter Rachel, had accompanied me thus far;) and I, having Leonard Fell with me, passed on through Sedberg and Garsdale, and into Wensydale, visiting friends as we went. And at night I reached to Richard Robinson's at Counterside, where several friends came to me that evening; and some of them went with me next day over the hills to the widow Tenant's at Scarhouse, in Langstroth-dale, whither we had much ado to get, the snow lay so deep, though it was a week in the second month. Here on the next day (which was the first day of the week) we had a large meeting, friends coming to it from several parts round about; and the Lord gave me a very seasonable testimony to bear amongst them, which I did for several hours, to their great satisfaction and comfort. Thence passing on through Bishopsdale, Mildum, Barton, and so through the country by Bedal and Northallerton, I came to George Robinson's at Burrowby; where also friends coming out of several parts, we had a very large and good meeting, and very peaceable. But not long after, an envious justice, who lived not far off, hearing that I had a great meeting there, troubled friends about it, and made them appear at the sessions, where he asked them many ensnaring questions, for he knew not how to convict them, because he had no proof against them. When he saw his questions did not catch them, he told them he had heard that George Fox was at a large meeting with them, and they all sat silent, and none spake in the meeting. This false story he cunningly feigned, thinking thereby to have drawn out some of the friends to have contradicted him, and have said that I had spoken in the meeting; that so he might have convicted them upon their own confession, and have fined them. But friends standing in the wisdom of God, did not answer him according to his desire, and so escaped his snare. But two other friends that came out of Ireland, and were at this meeting, having a meeting that evening about three miles off, this evil-minded justice got information thereof, and fined friends, and plundered them very sorely for it.

I went from Burrowby to Isaac Lindley's, calling upon friends on the way as I went. And having Robert Lodge and some other friends with me, from thence next day we passed to York, and the day following (being the first day of the week) I was at friends' meeting in York, which was large and peaceable. The second-day also I staid in York, and had two meetings with friends at John Taylor's; from whence I writ unto my wife, to let her know how it was with me, as followeth:

' Dear Heart,

' To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and to all friends that enquire after me. My desires are, that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting seed, in whom ye all will have life and peace, and dominion, and settlement in the everlasting home or dwelling, in the house built upon the foundation of God. In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The way was many times deep and bad with snow, that our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride, and sometimes we had great storms and rain; but by the power of the Lord I went through all. At Scarhouse there was a very large meeting, and another at Burrowby, to which friends came out of Cleaveland and Bishoprick; and many other meetings we have had. At York yesterday we had a very large meeting, exceeding thronged, friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and friends well satisfied: Oh! the glory of the Lord shined over all. And this day we had a large men's and women's meeting, many friends, both men and women, being come out of the country, and all was quiet; and this evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the friends of the city. John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others; friends are mighty glad, above measure: so I am in my holy element, and holy work in the Lord, glory to his name for ever! To morrow I intend to go out of the city towards Todcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel so well as I do. So with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide, ye will have refreshment of life, that by it ye may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied. So to the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all to his ordering.'

G. F.

York, the 16th of the second
month, 1677.

Leaving York, I travelled on through Yorkshire, visiting friends at Todcaster, Nottingham, Doncaster, and so on to Balby, having meetings as I went. At Balby I staid the first-day meeting, and went next day to Thomas Stacy's at Ballowfield, where in the evening I had a meeting, to compose some difference that had happened between some that professed truth, and they were reconciled. From thence next day I came to Stainsby in Derbyshire, in which county I had formerly lived some time, about the first breaking forth of truth. Here I had a good meeting with friends, and afterwards passed to Skegby in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to Nottingham, to John Reckless's house; who, being one of the sheriffs of Nottingham (when I first declared truth in that town and was imprisoned for it) took me out of prison into his own house, and kept me there, till the mayor and the rest of the magistrates of the town took me away from him, and sent me to the prison again; at which time this John Reckless was convinced, and abode in the truth ever after. Now I had a meeting with friends at his house that evening, after I came thither, and another the next day in friends' public meeting-house, which was peaceable and well.

I went from thence the day following to John Fox's at Wymeswold in Leicestershire, where I had a meeting that evening; and went next day to William Smith's at Sileby, where (it being the first-day of the week) we had a very large meeting: for besides friends that came from several places, the town's-people hearing that I was there, came many of them to the meeting, and heard the truth declared gladly. Next day I went to Leicester, where finding many friends come out of the country, to be at the horse-fair there next day, I had a very good meeting with them that night; and had another meeting next evening (after the fair was over) at Wm. Wells's house at Knighton, about a mile from Leicester; from whence next day I passed to Swanington (where I had formerly been taken prisoner) and had a meeting there; from thence went to Samuel Fretwell's at Hartshorn in Derbyshire, where I had a meeting also; and then went through the country to Henry Sidon's, at Badgley in Warwickshire, and staid the meeting there, which (it being the first-day of the week) was very large and peaceable, notwithstanding that a justice, who lived not far off, had threatened that he would come and break it up. After meeting (having staid awhile with friends) I went in the evening to Richard Baal's of Whittington, where several friends came to visit me. Next day I went to Nathaniel Newton's at Hartshill, where several friends

met me, with whom I had good service. After this I passed on, visiting friends in divers places, till I came to Dingley, where a meeting was appointed before, which was very large, and truth was largely opened to the people: the meeting was peaceable and quiet, and the people generally sober; saying that while I was declaring, and shewing how that Christendom (so called) was gone from the pure religion that is undefiled, &c. one man rushed out in a furious manner, and said, I deny that. After this meeting I went with Thomas Charles to his house at Adingworth, and from thence next day to Northampton, where I staid the first-day meeting, which was very large and peaceable, and had much service among friends besides. Next day Edward Cooper of Northampton, accompanied me to Olney in Buckinghamshire, where I staid at James Brierlie's, several friends coming thither to see me in the evening. Next day I went to a meeting at Turry in Bedfordshire, to which friends came from several parts; so that it was a very large meeting. Here I met with William Dewsberry, who after the meeting took me along with him to his son-in-law John Rush's of Kempston, where I staid with William that night and most part of the next day, passing thence towards evening through Ampthill, to Thomas Gamboll's of Bullock's Hill. William Dewsberry went along with me thither, and there also several friends came to visit us. Next day, passing through Luton, I went to Market-street (William Dewsberry accompanying me part of the way) and the day following Leonard Fell and I had a meeting at Kensworth, which was pretty large and peaceable. After the meeting we went to Alban's, where we visited friends, and next day passing through South Mims and Barnet, where also we visited friends, we came that night to the widow Haylye's at Guttershedge in Hendon, in Middlesex. Next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a very large meeting there, several friends coming from London. I staid there on the second-day, and on the third went to William Mead's house at Highgate, with whom next day I went to London; and it being the fourth-day of the week, I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where friends and I were greatly refreshed in each other in the Lord, and the Lord's power and seed were set over all, blessed be his name for ever.

Thus it pleased the Lord to bring me safe to London, though much wearied with travel, for though I rode not very far in a day, yet having had much weakness of body, continual travel was hard to me. Besides, I had not much rest a-nights to refresh nature; for I often sat up late with

friends, where I lodged, to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting; and when I was in bed, I was often hindered of sleep by great pains, which I felt in my head and teeth, occasioned (as I thought) by cold I had taken, by riding often in the rain. But the Lord's power was over all, and carried me through all, to his praise.

In my journey I observed a slackness and shortness in some that professed truth, in keeping up the ancient testimony of truth against tithes; for wherever that spirit got entrance, which wrought division in the church, and opposed the men's and women's meetings, it weakened those that received it in their testimony against tithes. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth a short paper by way of an epistle to friends, to stir up the pure mind in them, and to encourage and strengthen them in their Christian testimony against that antichristian yoke and oppression:

My dear friends,

' Be faithful to the Lord in your testimony for Jesus, who hath ended the Levitical priesthood of Aaron, that took tithes, and sent his ministers forth freely, to give freely that which they had received of him freely, without a bag or a staff. So Christ's disciples could not join with those that made a trade of preaching. And as there was a testimony to be borne against those tithes which were commanded in the law for Levi and Aaron, so there is a testimony to be borne against these tithes which have been set up by man, in the dark time of popery, and not set up by God nor Christ. Now for any to cry against the priests in words, and yet to give them means, and put into their mouths that they may not prepare war against you, this is a contradiction. And therefore take heed: for if the Lord God do bless you with outward creatures, and you do bestow them upon Baal's priests, the Lord may justly require the outward things from you again, which he hath given you: who saith, that his Christian ministers should freely give, as they have freely received of Christ Jesus. So all the preachers for tithes and money, and the takers and payers of tithe must be testified against in the Lord's power and spirit; so that all men and women may stand up in their testimony for Jesus Christ, in his power and spirit, against the tithe-mongers. Consider how many faithful servants and valiants of the Lord have laid down their lives against them, in this day of the Lord; and in the days of the martyrs they did then witness against them. Consider also,

what judgments have come upon them that have spoiled friends' goods, and have cast them into prison for tithes and maintenance. And therefore in the power of the Lord maintain the war against the beast, and do not put into his mouth, lest he cry peace to you; which peace you must not receive; but it must be broken, and thrown out by the Spirit of God: and then in the same spirit, ye will receive the peace from the son of peace, which the beast, and the whore, and the world, with all their earthly teachers for the earth, which are made by man, cannot receive, nor bereave you of. And therefore keep your authority and dominion in the power, and spirit, and name of Jesus; in whom my love is to you.'

G. F.

Third Month, 1677.

I came to London on the 23d of the third month, some ten or twelve days before the yearly meeting, in which time I fell in with friends in the service of truth, visiting them at the meetings; and the parliament then sitting, we prepared something to lay before them, concerning the seizing of the third part of friends' estates as popish recusants, which was a great suffering, and a grievance we complained of; but no redress we got.

To the yearly meeting many friends came from most parts of the nation; and some out of Scotland, Holland, &c. and very glorious meetings we had, wherein the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt; and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on in the unity of the spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted; blessed be the Lord for ever! Then, after the yearly meeting was over, and I had staid a week or two with friends in London, I went down with William Penn to his house in Sussex; John Burnyeat and some other friends went with us; and as we passed through Surrey, hearing that the quarterly meeting for that county was that day, William Penn, John Burnyeat and I went from the road to it; and after the meeting returning to our other company on the road, went on with them to William Penn's that night; which is forty miles from London. I staid at Worminghurst about three weeks, in which time John Burnyeat and I (at such times as we were not amongst friends in meetings) answered a very envious and wicked book, which one Roger Williams, a priest of New England (or some colony thereabouts) had written against truth and friends. When we had finished that service, we went with Stephen Smith (who was there with us) to his house at Warpleton in

Surrey, where we had a large meeting. Friends there-away had been exceedingly plundered about two months before on the priest's account; for they took from Stephen Smith five kine (being all he had) for about fifty shillings tithes. From thence we went to Kingston, and so to London, where I staid not long; for it was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to visit friends there, and to preach the gospel there, and in some parts of Germany. Wherefore setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of friends at London; and with several other friends went down to Colchester in Essex, in order to my passage for Holland. Next day, being the first-day of the week, I was at the public meeting of friends there, which was very large and peaceable; and in the evening I had another large meeting, but not so public, at John Furly's house, where I lodged. The day following was the women's meeting there, which also was very large, and I was at that too. From thence next day we passed to Harwich, where Robert Duncon and several other friends out of the country, came to see us, and some from London came to us there that intended to go over with me. The packet-boat in which we were to go not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, by his over-coming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare his everlasting truth, and to praise and glorify him. After the meeting we returned to John Vandewall's, where I had lodged, and when the boat was ready, (taking leave of those friends that had accompanied us thither, and that met us there) we that were bound for Holland went on board about the ninth hour in the evening, on the 25th day of the fifth month, 1677.

The friends that then went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, who is one of my wife's daughters. About the first hour in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair brisk wind, which by the next morning brought us within sight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm we got forward but little, till about the fourth hour in the afternoon, when a fresh gale arose, which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed again, we cast anchor for that night, it being between the hours of nine and ten in the evening: but William Penn and Robert Barclay (understanding that Benjamin Furly was come from Rotterdam to the Brill to meet us) got two of the boatmen to let down a small

boat that belonged to the packet boat, and row them to shore, but before they could get to shore the gates were shut; and there being no house without the gate, they were fain to lie in a fisher's boat all night. As soon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in and found Benjamin Furly with other friends of Rotterdam, that were come thither to receive us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it, that lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to the Brill, where the friends received us with great gladness.

We staid about two hours at the Brill to refresh ourselves, and then took boat with the Holland friends for Rotterdam, where we arrived about the eleventh hour that day, which was the 28th of the fifth month, 1677. I was very well this voyage, but some of the friends were sea sick; yet a fine passage we had, and all came safe and well to land; blessed and praised be the name of the Lord for ever.

The next day, being the first day of the week, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's, where many of the town's people and some officers came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly or John Claus (a friend of Amsterdam) interpreted, when any friend declared. I spent the next day in visiting friends there, and the day following William Penn and I, and some other of the friends, went towards Amsterdam with some friends of that city, who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither. We took boat in the afternoon, and passing by a town called Overkirk, we came to Delft, through which we walked on foot, and then took boat again to Leyden, where we lodged that night at an inn: this is counted six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen English miles, and five hours sail or travel; for our boat was drawn by an horse that went on the shore. Next day taking boat again, we went to Harleam, fourteen miles from Leyden, where we had appointed a meeting, which proved very large; for many of the town's people came in, and two of their preachers, and the Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to friends, but to other sober people (baptists and other professors) that were there, and the meeting ended peaceably and well. After meeting we passed to Amsterdam, accompanied by several friends of that city and of Alkmaer, some by waggon, some by boat.

Next day was the quarterly meeting at Amsterdam, to which came friends from Harleam and Rotterdam, and with them those friends of our company, whom we had left behind at Rotterdam, viz. Robert Barclay, George

Keith and his wife, &c. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieson's house, and a very large and serviceable meeting it was; for both William Penn and I were drawn forth to open many things concerning the order of the gospel, and to shew the benefit and service of yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings of men and women. We had another meeting at Gertrude's the next day, more public, and very large, at which were professors of several sorts, unto whom the way of life and salvation was largely and livingly opened; which they hearkened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the same place, but less, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of friends only, wherein by joint agreement of friends were settled several meetings, to wit, monthly, quarterly, and a yearly meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Frederickstadt, Dantzic, and other places in and about Germany, which friends were very glad of, and it hath been of great service to truth.

Next day an exercise came upon me concerning that deceitful spirit, which wrought in some amongst friends, to make divisions in the church; and the care of the churches being upon me, I was moved to write a few lines to warn friends of it, as followeth:

'All friends, keep over that spirit of separation and division, in the peaceable truth, and in the seed of life, which will wear it all out, and out last it. For the Lamb will have the victory over all the spirits of strife, as it hath had since the beginning; and they will wither, as others have done; but all that do keep in the seed, which is always green, shall never wither; as friends have been to this day kept. And if any have gone out and backslidden, and thrown off the cross, and are grown loose and full, and are gone into strife and contention with their earthly spirits, and therein plead for a liberty; this spirit taketh with loose earthly spirits, and cries imposition to such as do admonish them to come to the life, light, and spirit and power of God, that they may be alive, and may live again with the living. And then upon this admonishment, their spirits do arise into contention and strife, and a separation, turning against the living, in their loose earthly spirits, which would have the name of truth, but is not in the nature of it, but is for eternal judgment of

the living seed. And this is it which doth deceive; but it is judged by that which doth undeceive and save.'

G. F.

Amsterdam in Holland,
the 5th of the 6th month, 1677.

This being the first-day of the week, we had a very large meeting again, there coming to it a great concourse of people of several opinions, as baptists, seekers, socinians, brownists, and some of the collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn, and I, did all severally declare the everlasting truth among them; opening the estate of man in the fall, and shewing by what way man and woman may come into the restoration by Christ Jesus: and indeed, the mystery of iniquity, and the mystery of godliness were very plainly laid open, and the meeting ended quietly and well.

The day following, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, leaving me and some other friends at Amsterdam, set forward on their journey towards Germany; where they travelled many hundred miles, and had good service for the Lord; Benjamin Furly going with them and interpreting.

That day and the next I staid at Amsterdam, visiting the friends, and assisting them in some businesses concerning their meetings: and there came three baptists to discourse with me, unto whom I opened things to their satisfaction, and they parted from me in kindness. I wrote a letter also to the princess Elizabeth, which Isabel Yeomans delivered to her, when George Keith's wife and she went to visit her.

'Princess Elizabeth,

'I have heard of thy tenderness towards the Lord and his holy truth, by some friends that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters, which I have seen; which indeed is a great thing for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and his precious truth; seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness, and the pleasures of this world, and yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep inward sense and feeling of him. For it is not many mighty, nor wise of the world, that can become fools for Christ's sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate, and a mightier

kingdom through the inward Holy Spirit, and the divine light and power of God; and a mightier wisdom which is from above, pure and peaceable; which wisdom is above that which is below, that is earthly, sensual and devilish, by which men destroy one another; yea, about their religions, ways and worships, and churches; but this they have not from God nor Christ. But the wisdom, which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, that keeps the heart clean: and by and with this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. So this is the wisdom that is justified of her children; and in this fear of God and wisdom my desire is, that thou may be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach his people himself, and to set up his ensign, that the nations may flow unto it. And there hath been an apostacy since the apostles' days, from the divine light of Christ, which should have given them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus; and likewise from the Holy Spirit, which would have led them into all truth; and therefore have people set up so many leaders without them, to give them knowledge; and also from the holy and precious faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of; which faith purifies the heart, and gives victory over that which separates from God; through which faith they have access to God, and in which faith they please God; the mystery of which faith is held in a pure conscience: and also from the gospel which was preached in the apostles' days, (which gospel is the power of God) which brings life and immortality to light in man and woman, by which people should have seen over the devil that has darkened them, and before he was; which gospel will preserve all them that receive it, in life and in immortality. For the eyes of people have been after men, and not after the Lord, who doth write his law in the hearts, and puts it into the minds of all the children of the new covenant of light, life, and grace, through which they all come to know the Lord from the least to the greatest; so that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth, as the waters doth the sea. And this work of the Lord is beginning again, as it was in the apostles' days, that people shall come to receive an unction in them again from the Holy One, by which they shall know all things, and shall not need any man to teach them, but as the anointing doth teach them; and also to know, what the righteousness of faith speaks, the word nigh in the heart

and mouth, to obey it and to do it; which was the word of faith the apostles preached; which is now received and preached again, which is the duty of all true Christians to receive. And so now people are coming out of the apostacy to the light of Christ and his spirit, and to receive faith from him, and not from men; and to receive the gospel from him, and their unction from him, the Word; and as they receive him they declare him freely, as his command was to his disciples, and is so still to the learners and receivers of him. For the Lord God and his Son Jesus Christ is come to teach his people, and to bring them from all the world's ways to Christ the way, the truth, and the life, who is the way to the Father, and from all the world's teachers and speakers, to him the Speaker and Teacher, as Hebr. i. 1. and from all the world's worshippers, to worship God in the spirit and in the truth, (which the devil, the destroyer, is out of,) which worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, when he put down the Jews' worship at the temple at Jerusalem, and the worship at the mountain where Jacob's well was; and to bring people from all the world's religions, which they have made since the apostles' days, to the religion that was set up by Christ and his apostles, which is pure and undefiled before God, and keeps from the spots of the world; and to bring them out of all the world's churches and fellowships, that they have made and set up since the apostles' days, to the church, that is in God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thess. i. 1. and to bring to the unity and fellowship in the holy spirit, that doth mortify, and circumcise, and baptise, to plunge down sin and corruption, that has got up in man and woman by transgression; and in this holy spirit there is a holy fellowship and unity: yea, it is the bond of the Prince of princes, and King of kings, and Lord of lords' peace; which heavenly peace all the true Christians are to maintain with spiritual weapons, not with carnal.

'And now, my friend, the holy men of God did speak forth the scriptures, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; and all Christendom are on heaps about those scriptures, because they are not led by the same Holy Ghost as they were that gave forth the scriptures; which Holy Ghost they must come to in themselves, and be led by, if they come into all the truth of them, and to have the comfort of God, and Christ, and them. For none can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost; and all they that do call Christ Lord without the Holy Ghost, take his name in vain. And likewise all that name his name are to depart

from iniquity; then they name his name with reverence in truth and righteousness. And O therefore feel the grace and truth in thy heart, that is come by Jesus Christ, which is a teacher that will teach thee how to live and what to deny; and it will establish thy heart, and season thy words and bring thy salvation, and will be a teacher unto thee at all times, and by it thou mayest receive Christ from whence it comes; and as many as receive him, to them he gives power, not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God; if sons, then heirs of a life, and a world, and kingdom, that is everlasting without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof. So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, that has tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head, that has been betwixt man and God, that through Christ man may come to God again, and so can praise God through Jesus Christ the Amen; who is the spiritual and heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore.'

GEORGE FOX.

Amsterdam, the 7th of 6th month, 1677.

Postscript.

'The bearer hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife, to give thee a visit.'

G. F.

The Princess Elizabeth her Answer to the aforesaid Letter.

'Dear friend,

'I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him; therefore your letter and your friends' visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still

Your loving friend,

ELIZABETH.'

Hertfort, the 30th of August, 1677.

Next day John Claus and I took boat and passed to Buyckslote, and thence to Purmerent, where having staid awhile, and refreshed ourselves at an inn, we went by waggon through the country to Alcmær, about thirty miles from Amsterdam. We went to a friend's house

there, whose name was Willem Willems, where I had a meeting that night. I had also another meeting there next day, which was larger; for several professors came to the meeting, and all was quiet and well. When the meeting was done, I went and visited some friends, and then taking boat, passed by several places to Hoorn, which is counted the chief city in North Holland. We lodged at an inn there that night, and taking waggon again early next morning, we passed through the country to Enckhuysen, where we took ship for Friezeland; and landing in the afternoon at Workum, took waggon there again, and rode along upon the high bank of the Friezen seas, till we met two friends coming with a waggon to meet us; with whom (discharging our waggon at Mackum, a village hard by) we went in their waggon to Harlingen, the chief sea-port town in Friezeland. We went to a friend's house, whose name was Hessel Jacobs, whither several friends came to visit us that night. Next day we went among the friends of the place and visited them; and I wrote a paper directed, 'To all them that persecute friends for not observing their fast-day.'

The day following was the first-day of the week, and friends had a meeting there, to which we went, and many professors came to it. I declared the everlasting gospel amongst them, John Claus interpreting, and they were all very civil and heard attentively; and when the meeting was done, departed peaceably without making any opposition. After meeting I went to Hessel Jacobs his house again, whither after a while came a calvinist to ask me some questions, which I answered to his satisfaction, and he departed friendly. Soon after he was gone, a preacher of the collegians came to discourse with me, and he seemed well satisfied also, and we parted lovingly. That evening I had another meeting with the friends there, and next morning, when we had taken our leave of them, we passed to Leuwarden, the chief city in Friezeland, and lodged that night at a friend's house there, whose name was Sybrand Doves.

Next morning early, taking boat, we passed to Dockum, and walking through the city, took boat again to Stobus, which is the utmost part of Friezland. There we baited at a commissary's house; and then taking boat again, we passed to Groningen, the chief city of the province of Groningland. One of the magistrates of that city came with us from Leuwarden, with whom I had some discourse and he was very loving. We walked near
ugh the city, and then took boat for Delfziel;

and passing in the evening through a town called Appingdale, where had been a great horse-fair that day, there came many officers rushing into the boat, and being somewhat in drink, they were very rude. I spake to them, exhorting them to fear the Lord, and beware of Solomon's vanities. They were a sort of boisterous fellows, yet they were somewhat more civil afterwards. We landed at Delfziel about the tenth hour at night, having travelled much about fifty English miles that day. We went to an inn to lodge, and as we passed through the guards, they examined John Claus, whether I was not a militia soldier; and when he had told them that I was not, they let us pass peaceably on.

This city (Delfziel) stands on the River Eems, over which we passed next day to the city Embden, a place where friends had been cruelly persecuted, and from which they had been often banished. I went to an inn, where I staid and dined with some men that understood English, with whom I had a fine time, and they were loving. Meanwhile John Claus went with his wife to her father's, who lived in Embden, whither, after I had dined, I went also, understanding the old man was desirous to see me. In the afternoon John Claus and I walked through the city to the place where the waggon, which he had hired, was to meet us; and while we tarried for it, the friends that were in the city came to the house where we were, and there we had a little meeting. When the meeting was over, and the waggon came not, we sent to know the reason; and the master of the waggon sent us word that he durst not let his waggon go, for the bishop of Munster's soldiers were up in the country, and he was afraid they would take away his horses. So being disappointed of our passage, we returned to John Claus, his father-in-law's house, where I left him, and went myself to my inn at night.

We took shipping next day, and passed about fifteen miles upon the river Eemis, to a market town in East-Friesland, called Leer, where lived a friend that had been banished from Embden; and when we had visited him, we hired a waggon in that town, and passed to a garrison-town, called Strikehuysen, where the guards examined us; and then we went on to Deteren, where hiring another waggon, we passed through the country to another garrisoned town, where we were very strictly examined. From thence we passed unto Apre, in the king of Denmark's country, where we lodged that night. In our travel this day, we met the

earl of Oldenburgh going to the treaty of peace at Lembachie.

Next day, hiring another waggon, we passed through the country to the city of Oldenburgh, lately a great and famous place, but then burnt down, and but few houses left standing in it. At this place we hired another waggon, and went through the country to Delmenhurst; where, after we had been examined by the guards, we went to a burgher-master's to lodge, whose house was an inn. And there being many people, I declared the way of truth to him and them, warning them all of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all evil-doers.

From hence we passed next day by waggon to Bremen, which is a stately city in Germany; and from thence, after a double examination, we went by waggon to a water called Overdelend, and there took boat to Fisher-holder; where finding pretty many people together, I declared the way of God to them, and exhorted them to fear the Lord. There we took waggon again, and travelled in the bishop of Munster's country, to a place called Closterseven; and having no inclination to stay there, we got fresh horses there, intending to travel all night. Accordingly we went out a little way, but it quickly grew so dark, and rained so hard, that we thought it best to turn back again thither; for our waggon being open, we had no defence against the rain, and our clothes were already wet with the rain that had fallen for several days before. So we went back to an inn, and got a little fresh straw, upon which we lay till about break of day; and then set out in our waggon again, and travelled through the country to the city of Buxtehude.

The people in the bishop of Munster's country were very dark; and as we passed amongst them I preached truth to them, warning them of the great and notable day of the Lord; and exhorting them to soberness, and to mind the good spirit of God in themselves.

It was on the first-day of the week that we went through this city Buxtehude; and without the walls was a great fair of sheep and geese that day. We staid but a little to refresh ourselves, and went on as fast as we could to Hamburgh, partly by waggon and partly by water.

We got to Hamburgh time enough to get a meeting there that evening, and a good and glorious meeting it was. There were at it, amongst others, a baptist-teacher and his wife, and a great man of Sweden and his wife; and all was quiet, blessed be the Lord, whose power was exalted over

all; yet a dark hard place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth.

At Hamburg there was a woman that had spoken against me in John Perrot's time, (though she had never seen me till now) and she had been troubled for it ever since; and now was glad of an opportunity to acknowledge her fault; which she very readily did, and I did as readily and freely forgive her.

We staid that night at Hamburg, encouraging and strengthening the friends there in the testimony to the truth; and betimes next morning we set forward towards Frederickstadt, which is two long days journey from Hamburg. We went the first-day to a town called Elmsboorn, where we baited; and then rode on through a garrison town of the king of Denmark's; and passing by the monument of the earl of Ransenny, we came to the city of Itzeho, where we lodged that night; and I had some service in the evening among the people in the inn, whom I exhorted to soberness, and to live in the fear of the Lord. Next morning setting out again, we travelled to a town called Hoghenhorn, where we dined at an inn with one of the council of Frederickstadt; to whom, and to the rest of the people present, I declared the truth, with which they seemed to be affected. Then travelling on, we came to a river called Eyder, where we took boat and so went to Frederickstadt. We went to a friend's house there, whose name is William Pauls, where several friends came to us (for there is a pretty many friends in that city) and we had a fine refreshing meeting together that evening, which made us forget our weariness; for we were indeed very weary, having travelled hard those two days, and being wet through our clothes, having had much rain in our open waggons. But the Lord made all easy and good to us; and we were well, and glad to see friends; blessed be his holy name for ever!

This city is in the duke of Holstein's country, who would have banished friends out of the city and country, and did send to the magistrates of the city to do it; but they said they would lay down their offices rather than they would do it, inasmuch as friends came to that city to enjoy the liberty of their consciences. And not long after the duke himself was banished out of that city by the king of Denmark; but friends do still enjoy their liberty there, and truth and they are of good report amongst the people, both in city and country.

On the first-day of the week I had a meeting here, to which many people came, and some rough spirits; but the

power of the Lord bound them down, and the seed of life was set over all. While I was here I had a discourse with a Jew that was a Levite, concerning the coming of the Messiah, and he was much confounded in what he said; yet he carried himself lovingly, and invited me to his house: I went thither, and there I discoursed with another Jew, who shewed me their Talmud and many other Jewish books; but they are very dark, and do not understand their own prophets.

There was at this city a baptist-teacher, who had reproached and belied friends; wherefore John Claus went with two friends of the town, to the house where he lodged, and cleared truth and friends from his reproaches; and laid his lies and slanders upon his own head, to his shame.

Before we left this place I had another meeting with the friends only, wherein I laid before them the usefulness and benefit of a monthly-meeting, for the looking after the poor, and taking care that marriages, and all other things relating to the church, were done and performed in an orderly manner; and the thing answered the witness of God in their consciences, so that they readily consented, and agreed to have monthly meetings thenceforward amongst themselves, that both men and women might look after, and take care of, the outward concerns of the church.

After this meeting, feeling my spirit clear of that place, we took leave of friends there (whom we left in good order) and not intending to go further that way, we turned back again for Hamburg. When we had travelled one day's journey, and came to an inn at night to lodge, I inquired there whether there were any tender people in the town, that feared God, or that had a mind to discourse of the things of God; but the innkeeper told me there were few such in that town. Next night we got to Hamburg; and having passed the guards, we went to a friend's house, being very weary; for we had been up those two mornings before the third hour, and had travelled each day hard and late. Here we met with John Hill, an English friend, who had been travelling in Germany, and being in a ship bound for Amsterdam, that waited for a wind, he had lain sick on board her about two weeks; and now hearing that I was in the country, got off from the ship and came hither to meet me, and to go along with me.

The next day after we came to Hamburg we had a very good meeting there, and very peaceable. After the meeting I had discourse with a Swede, an eminent man in

his own country, who having been banished from thence upon the account of his religion, was come to Hamburgh, and was at the meeting I had there before. And when I had done with him, I had another discourse with a baptist concerning the sacraments (so called;) in both which I had good service, having opportunity thereby to open truth unto them.

Being clear of Hamburgh, we took our leave of friends there, whom we left well; and taking John Hill along with us, we passed by boat to a city in the duke of Lunenburg's country; where after we were examined by the guards, we were had to the main-guard, and there examined more strictly; but after they found that we were not soldiers, they were civil to us, and let us pass. In the afternoon we travelled by waggon, and the waters being much out, by reason of the great rains that had fallen, when it drew towards night, we hired a boy upon the way to guide us through a great water that we had to pass. When we came to it, the water was so deep before we could come at the bridge, that the waggoner was fain to wade, and I drove the waggon. But when we were come upon the bridge, the horses brake part of it down, and one of them fell into the water, the waggon standing upon that part of the bridge which remained unbroken; and it was the Lord's mercy to us that the waggon did not run into the brook. When they had got the horse out, he lay a while as if he had been dead; but at length they got him up, and put him to the waggon again, and laid the planks right; and then (through the goodness of the Lord to us) we got safe over.

After this we came to another water, which finding to be very deep, and it being in the night, we hired two men to help us through. These men put cords to the waggon to hold it by, that the force of the water might not drive it beside the way. But when we came into it, the stream was so strong, that it took up one of the horses off his legs, and was carrying him down the stream, which I seeing called to the waggoner to pluck him to him by his reins, which he did, and the horse recovered his legs, and so with much difficulty we got over the bridge, and went to Bormer-haven, the town where the waggoner lived. It was the last day of the sixth month that we escaped these dangers; and it being about the eleventh hour in the night when we came in here, we got some fresh straw and lay upon it, till about the fourth hour in the morning; and then getting up, we set forward again towards Bremen, going part of the way by waggon and part by boat. In the

way I had good opportunities to publish truth among the people, especially at a market-town, where we staid to change our passage; where I declared the truth to the people, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all flesh; and exhorting them to righteousness, and telling them that God was come to teach his people himself, and that they should turn to the Lord, and hearken to the teachings of his spirit in their own hearts.

At Bremen we were examined (as we usually were in cities and garrison-towns) and after that we went to an inn and staid a while, till another waggon was provided to carry us further. And here, though I felt the Lord's power was over the city, and kept the wicked and unruly spirits down, yet my spirit suffered much in this place for the people's sake. When our waggon was ready we left Bremen, and travelled through the country to Keby, where we lodged at an inn that night, and early next morning set forth for Oldenburgh, which was a lamentable sight to see so great and brave a city burnt down. We went to an inn, and though it was the first-day of the week, there were the soldiers drinking, and playing at shovel-board; and at those few houses that were left the shops were open, and the people trading one with another. I was moved to speak to the people, and declare the truth among them, and warn them of the judgments of God; and though they heard me quietly, and were civil towards me, yet I was burdened with their wickedness. And many times in mornings, noons, and nights, at the inns and on the ways as I travelled, I spake to the people, preaching the truth to them, and warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil.

Next day, passing through many great waters, we came at night to Leer, and the day following to Embden, where John Claus his wife's father lived; at whose house, when we went up into Germany, we left a young man sick, who travelled with me, and used to write for me; whom now at our return, we found pretty well recovered. John Claus went to his father-in-law's; John Hill and I to an inn, where we dined; and after dinner we went also to John Claus his father's, and had a good meeting there in the evening.

The day following we took shipping at Embden, and passed to Delfziel, and went to an inn, where a friend came to us that then lived in Delfziel, having been often banished from Embden; he was a goldsmith by trade, and had an house and shop in Embden; and still as they ha-

nished him, he went again. Then they imprisoned him, and fed him with bread and water; and at length took his goods from him, and banished him, his wife, and children, leaving them neither place to come to, nor any thing to subsist on. We comforted and encouraged him in the Lord, exhorting him to be faithful, and stand stedfast in the testimony committed to him. And when we had taken our leave of him, we took boat and passed the same day to Groningen, where we met with Cornelius Andries, a friend that had also suffered much by imprisonment and banishment at Embden. We went with him to his house, and the next day we had a good meeting in that city, to which several professors came, and were very peaceable and attentive. After meeting we passed by boat to Strobos, and so to Dockum, where we lodged that night at an inn. And taking boat again next morning we passed to Leuwarden, the chief city of Friezland, where I found my daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amsterdam thither to meet me. That day we had a precious meeting there, at Sybrand Dowe's house, and after the meeting I had some discourse with some that were at the meeting, who had been formerly convinced of truth, but were not come into obedience to it. We staid there that night, but John Hill left us and went that day to Harlingen, and so to Amsterdam.

Next day we passed away by boat down the river to the lake of Hempen-Sarmer, and thence by the lake Lugmer, and so to a town called Anderigo; from whence sailing through the lake Whispool, we came to a town called Gardick. It was within night when we came thither, and we went and lodged at an inn; and the next day, being the first day of the week, we were at friends' meeting there, which was very large, many of the town's people coming in; amongst whom I declared the truth, in the power of the Lord that was upon me, which tendered the people, and they were very sober. After the meeting we staid but a little while to refresh ourselves, and then went to take boat again; but the people observing us, gathered together at a bridge, where we were to pass; and there I spake unto them again, declaring the way of life and salvation unto them; and they were very attentive and civil.

We took boat and went back that evening to Leuwarden, being twenty-seven miles; but before we could get thither the gates were shut, and the bridges drawn up, so that we could not get into the city, but were fain to lie in the boat all night. And the next morning, there having been a man killed in the city that night, it was late before

the gates were opened. When we could get in, we went to a friend's house, where we staid a while, and then taking boat again, we passed through Franeker to Harlingen, to Hessel Jacobs, where we found several Dutch friends, who were come to be at the meeting there next day. In the evening William Penn came to us from Amsterdam; who returning two or three days before out of Germany, had been at a large meeting at Amsterdam on the first-day; and after meeting, understanding I was at Harlingen, came thither to me.

The next day was the monthly-meeting for the men and women, to which we went, and it was large and good. And there it was agreed upon amongst friends, that there should be a meeting held there once a month, both for the men and for the women, to take care of the outward concerns of the church.

In the afternoon we had a public meeting, to which came people of several sorts, as socinians, baptists, lutherans, &c. amongst which was a doctor of physic and a priest. And after I had declared the truth a pretty large time to the people, opening unto them the happy estate that man and woman were in, whilst they kept under God's teaching, and abode in the Paradise of God; and on the other hand, the woe and misery that came upon them, when they went from God's teaching, and hearkening to the serpent's teaching transgressed God's command, and were driven out of the Paradise of God; and then came to set forth the way, whereby man and woman might come into that happy estate again. The priest, an ancient grave man, stood up, just as I had done speaking, and putting off his hat, said, I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing against it. He would willingly have staid longer, until the meeting had been ended, but being a parish priest, and to preach that evening, he could not stay longer, (the time for his own worship being come;) wherefore, when he had made confession to the truth he hastened away, that he might come to the meeting again, and did come it seems to the meeting-place, but the meeting was ended first. After meeting we went to Hessel Jacobs, where I had a meeting with friends, and the doctor of physic came thither to discourse with William Penn, who had a good opportunity to open truth to him. By this doctor the priest sent his love to me, wishing him to tell me, that he had left preaching that evening half an hour sooner than he used to do, that he might have come to our meeting again, to have heard more of that good doctrine.

I heard afterwards that his hearers questioned him, for what he had said in our meeting; and that he standing by his words, they had complained of him for it to the other priests of the city, who called him to account about it; but the result I could not learn.

Early next morning William Penn, taking John Claus with him, passed from Harlingen for Leuwarden, where he had appointed a meeting; intending after that, to travel into some other parts of Germany, to visit a tender people there. I with those friends that were with me, took ship the same day for Amsterdam, where we arrived a little after midnight, but the gates being shut, we lay on board till morning; then went to Gertrude Dirick Nieson's, where many friends came to see us, being glad of our safe return. Next day, feeling a concern upon my mind, with a relation to those seducing spirits, that made division among friends; and being sensible that they endeavoured to insinuate themselves into the affectionate part, I was moved to write a few lines to friends concerning them, as followeth:

'All these that do set up themselves in the affections of the people, set up themselves and the affections of the people, and not Christ. But friends, your peaceable habitation in the truth, which is everlasting, and changes not, will out-last all the habitations of those that be out of the truth, although they be never so full of words. And so they that be so keen for J. S. and J. W. let them take them and the separation. And you, that have given your testimony against that spirit, stand in your testimony, till they answer by condemnation; and do not strive, nor make bargains with that which is out of the truth, nor save that alive to be a sacrifice for God, which should be slain, lest you lose your kingdom.'

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 14th day of
the 7th month, 1677.

On the first-day of the week following, I was at friends' meeting at Amsterdam, to which many people came, and were very civil and attentive, hearing truth declared several hours, and John Roeloffs interpreted for me.

Before this time, several of the friends that came over with me, were returned to England again, as Robert Barclay, George Keith's wife, and others; and now my daughter Yeomans went back also; so that I was now left alone at Amsterdam. And while I was here, it came upon

me to visit my suffering friends at Dantzic with a few lines, to encourage and strengthen them in their sufferings, as followeth :

‘ Dear friends,

‘ To whom is my love in the Lord’s truth, that is over all, and by which all God’s people are made free men and women, being thereby set free from him that is out of the truth; that walking in the truth, they may answer the witness of God in all people; which truth all must come to, if they be made free. Therefore be faithful unto what the Lord manifests, and makes known unto you. I am glad that the Lord hath witnesses in that city, to stand for his glory and name, and to stand up for Christ Jesus, the great Prophet, whom God hath raised up, who is to be heard in all things; so that ye need none of the prophets, which men have raised up. Therefore stand faithful to Christ Jesus your Shepherd, that he may feed you; and hear his voice and follow him, who has laid down his life for you: but follow none of the shepherds and hirelings that are made by men, though they be angry, because ye will not follow them to their dry and barren mountains; who have been, and are, the thieves, persecutors and robbers, that climb up another way, than by Christ. So set up Christ to be your Counsellor and Leader, and then, ye will have no need of any of the counsellors and leaders of the world; for Christ is sufficient, whom God has given you. And also set up Christ Jesus to be your Bishop and Overseer, who is sufficient to oversee you, that ye go not astray from God; by which ye may see over all the hireling-overseers made by men, which do keep the people, that they do not go astray from the rudiments and formalities, fashions and customs of the world, which hath been and is their work. And I am glad, that ye are come to own Christ Jesus, your High-Priest, who is holy and harmless, and separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, as the church and the apostle did own him in their days, *Hebr. vii.* who is the High-Priest over the household of faith; which faith Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of: and this do all the children of the new covenant witness, who walk in the new and living way. And therefore my desire is, that ye all may be stedfast, whether in bonds or out, in the faith of Christ Jesus, which is the gift of God; by which faith all the valiants overcame the devil and all their enemies; in which faith they had victory and access to God, and in that was their unity: which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience,

hidden from the world. And I do believe, that your imprisonments and sufferings in that place, will be for good in the end (as it hath been in other places) ye standing faithful to the Lord, who is all-sufficient. For your sufferings and trials will try their teachers and religions, churches and worships, and make manifest what birth they are of; even that which persecutes him that is born of the Spirit: for ye know, that there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus, and therefore it is time to leave them, when there is no salvation by or in any of them. Now friends, I desire, that you would take a list of the names of all those persons that belong to the king of Poland, and where they do live, and how ye may send books or epistles to them, and keep a correspondence with them, and also the name of the bishop or cardinal, that I heard was with you; and if ye can get any of them that belong to the king, that are his attendants, to come and visit the prisoners, that they may inform the king of their cruel sufferings. Also I desire you to get as many books of mine as you can dispose of, that set forth your sufferings, and the cruelty of the magistrates of Dantzic; and give them to the king, and his council, and attendants, and his bishops: and some of the women may speak to the queen, if they can, that she may signify to the king their cruel sufferings; and especially some of the sufferers' wives, if there be any of a capacity to do it: you may likewise give his attendants any other friends' books, and what books ye lack, send for them to Amsterdam, where ye may be furnished with them, to answer every tender desirer and inquiring mind after the Lord. So let all your minds be bended with the Lord's power to spread his truth abroad; and where ye hear of any, or have any correspondence in outward trading with any sober people, far or near, send them books, that their understandings may be opened after the Lord. So the Lord God Almighty preserve you, and to his protection, in his eternal power, do I commend you all, in bonds or at liberty, with my love to you in the everlasting seed of God, Christ Jesus, who bruises the head of the serpent, that makes you to suffer. But Christ is over him, and will be when he is gone; who is first and last, over all, from everlasting to everlasting, in whom ye have both life, knowledge, wisdom and salvation; and through him live to the praise and glory of God, who is blessed for evermore. Amen.

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 18th of the 7th
month, 1677. English stile.

VOL. II.

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The next day (being the fourth-day of the week and 19th of the month) I had a large meeting at Amsterdam, many professors being at it; and truth was largely opened to them, in the demonstration of the heavenly power. The day following I went by boat from Amsterdam, many friends going with me, to Landsmeer in Waterland (a town in which, they say, there are above an hundred bridges,) where I had a very good meeting, to which several professors came. And after the meeting I returned with friends to Amsterdam again, where I staid with friends till the first-day following, and went to their meeting, which was large; for many professors of several sorts were at it, and heard the truth declared with great attention.

I tarried amongst friends there next day, and in the night following had a great exercise upon my spirit concerning that loose spirit, that was run out into strife and contention among friends, and had drawn some after it into division and separation; the way, work and end whereof the Lord opened to me: wherefore feeling the motion of life upon me, I got up in the morning and wrote the following epistle to friends:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ Keep your first love in the truth, and power and seed of life in Christ Jesus; for this last night, as I was lying in my bed at Amsterdam, I had a great travail in the holy seed of life and peace, and my spirit was troubled with that spirit of strife and separation. I saw it was a destroying spirit, and did seek not only to get over the seed, but to destroy it, and to eat out the minds of people from it by strife and contention; and under pretence of standing for the ancient truth, its work is to root it out, and destroy the appearance of it to set up itself. And it is a creeping spirit, seeking whom it can get into, and what it cannot do itself, it stirreth up others to do, and setteth up their spirits on float, with the dark wisdom to destroy the simple. And this spirit is managed by the prince of the air, and leadeth some to do such things, which they would have been ashamed to have done as men, which doth unman them; and they would not have suffered them, if they had kept to the tender principle of God, which leadeth to peace. And it is a despising, backbiting, and a secret-whispering spirit, and a sower of dissension, and a taker of advantage of all prejudiced spirits, that are disobedient to their first principle and love of truth, and begetteth into hatred, so it begetteth all into that spirit, whose work is

to destroy both the good within and the good without ; nay, it would, if it could, destroy the government of Christ and the order of the gospel, to set up its own will and spirit, which is not of God ; and under pretence of crying down man, are setting up man, and are gathering into a separation of disobedient men, who float above their conditions. And this spirit, which neither liveth in the truth nor its order, but opposeth them that do, I cannot express it, as I do see it and its work, whose end will be accordingly. And therefore, friends, I am to warn you all, that have not lost your simplicity, not to touch it, nor to have any unity with it, lest you be defiled, and lose your conditions of your eternal estate, and your everlasting portion ; and that your inward man, which is after God may be preserved, and Christ may reign in all your hearts. And they that are joined with them, it will be very hard for them ever to come down to truth in themselves, and to see their own conditions, and to have that spirit of strife and contention (which eateth as a canker) to be brought down in them ; which is carnal, and slayeth the tender babe, which was once begotten in themselves ; and the Philistine is got up in them, that stoppeth the wells and springs, and maketh a great bustle ; and are crying up men and pleading for them instead of Christ. And so friends, strive not with them, but let them take them that cry them up ; and keep you in the Lord Jesus Christ with his light, that cometh from him, that he may be your Lord, and ye in him may be all in unity, in one light, life, power, and dominion in Christ your head. And so the God of peace and power preserve you all in Christ Jesus your Saviour ; and out of and from that mischievous spirit, which is idle and slothful, as to the work of the power, and Spirit, and light of God and Christ ; and its very act is that which worketh strife and disturbance against the peace of the church of Christ, and thinks in its wilfulness and stubbornness, and unruliness, to set up itself, and in that to have peace ; but destruction will be the end of it, and it is sealed for the fire and eternal judgment. And therefore let Christ the seed be the head and crown of every one of you, that nothing may be between you and the Lord God. And be not deceived with vain words, or feigned words, or rough ; for satan is transforming himself, as an angel of light to deceive, but God's foundation standeth sure, and God knoweth who are his, and will preserve his upon the rock and foundation of life, in his peaceable truth and habitation, that in the same they may grow. And so keep out of strife and contention with it, after that ye have

borne your testimony in the Lord's power and truth against it, and then keep in the truth; for it hath a life in scribbling, strife and jangling, because it would enlarge its hell, and brings others into its misery with the airy power, and would get power over the good and disjoin people from it, and so to make rapes upon the simplicity by its subtilty. But I do believe the Lord will defend his people, though he may try them, and exercise them with this spirit for a time, as he hath done by it in days past, in other vessels it hath made use of, as it doth of these now; who have a more seeming fair outside, but foul and rough, and rugged enough within, against the seed Christ, as ever were the pharisees to destroy it; and they, under a pretence of preaching Christ, are the men that are the destroyers and crucifiers of him, and killers of the just, not only in themselves, but endeavouring with all their might to destroy it in others, where it is born; Pharaoh and Herod to slay the young Jews in the Spirit, as the old did; I do feel it worrying of them, and it is got up to be king, which knew not suffering Joseph. But God will plague him, and the seed will have more rest, and be better entertained in Egypt, than under Herod, into whom old Pharaoh's spirit is entered. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear; and an eye to see, let him see, how this spirit hath transformed in all ages against the just and righteous; but mark, what hath been its end. But the seed reigneth; glory to the Lord God over all for ever! and his truth spreadeth, and friends here are in unity and peace, and of good report, answering the good or that of God in people. And so my desires are, that all God's people may do the same in all places wherever they be, so that the Lord may be glorified in their bringing forth much fruit, that is heavenly and spiritual. Amen.'

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 25th of the
7th month, 1677.

After I had given forth the foregoing epistle, whereby my spirit was in some measure eased of the weight that lay upon it, I went in the afternoon to the monthly meeting of friends at Amsterdam, where the Lord was present with us, and refreshed our spirits together in himself.

I thought to have gone next day to Harlem, but there being a fast appointed to be kept that day, I was stopped in my spirit, and moved to stay at friends' meeting that day at Amsterdam. We had a very large meeting, a great concourse of people coming to it, and amongst them many

great persons. The Lord's power was over the meeting; and in the openings thereof I was moved to declare to the people, that no man by all his wit and study, nor by reading history in his own will, could declare or know the generation of Christ, who was not begotten by the will of man, but by the will of God. After I had largely opened this unto them, I shewed them the difference between the true fast and the false; manifesting unto them, that the professed Christians, Jews and Turks, were out of the true fast, and fasted for strife and debate, being under the band and fists of iniquity and oppression, wherewith they were smiting one another; but the pure hands were not lifted up to God. And though they did all appear to men to fast, and did hang down their heads for a day like a bulrush, yet that was not the fast which God did accept; but in that state all their bones were dry, and when they called upon the Lord, he did not answer them, neither did their health grow; for they kept their own fast, and not the Lord's. And there I exhorted them to come and keep the Lord's fast, which was to fast from sin and iniquity, from strife and debate, from violence and oppression, and to abstain from every appearance of evil. These things were opened to the astonishment of the fasters; and the meeting ended peaceably and well.

I went to Harlem the day following, having before appointed a meeting to be there that day. Peter Hendricks and Gertrude Dirick Nieson went with me; and a blessed meeting we had. There were at the meeting professors of several sorts, and a priest of the Lutherans, who sat very attentive for several hours while I declared the truth amongst them, Gertrude interpreting. When the meeting was done, the priest said that he had heard nothing but what was according to the word of God; and desired that the blessing of the Lord might rest upon us, and our assemblies. Others also confessed to the truth, saying they had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before.

We staid that night at Harlem at a friend's house, whose name was Dirick Klassen; and returning next day to Amsterdam, went to Gertrude's house; where we had not been long come in, before there came a priest of great note, who had formerly belonged to the emperor of Germany, and with him another German priest, desiring to have some conference with me. So I took the opportunity to declare the way of truth unto them, opening unto them how they might come to know God and Christ, and his law and gospel; and shewing them that they could never know

it by study nor by philosophy, but by divine revelation through the Spirit of God, opening unto them in the stillness of their minds. The men were tender, and went away well satisfied.

On the first-day of the week following I was at friends' meeting at Amsterdam, where, amongst the several sorts of professors that were present, there was a doctor of Poland, who for his religion was banished from the place he lived in; and he being affected with the testimony of truth that was borne in the meeting, came after the meeting to have some discourse with me; and after we had been some time together, and I had opened things further to him, he went away very tender and loving.

Now while I was at Amsterdam, I spent most of my time (except it were when I was at friends' meetings, or when people came to speak with me) in writing books, papers, or epistles on truth's behalf. For I writ several epistles from Amsterdam to friends in England and elsewhere, on several occasions, as the Lord moved me by his spirit thereunto. I writ also from thence, A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Oldenburgh, which was lately burnt down; also, A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Hambro'. I writ also an epistle to the ambassadors that were treating a peace at Nimmeguen. To the magistrates and priests of Embden I writ a book, shewing them their unchristian practices in persecuting friends. And several other books I writ there, in answer to priests and others of Hambro', Dantzick, and other places, to clear the truth and friends from their false charges and slanders.

After some time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amsterdam, and had a dispute with one Galenus Abrahams (one of the most noted baptists in Holland) at which many professors were present; but not having time to finish the dispute then, they met again two days after, and the baptist was much confounded, and truth gained ground. Between these two disputes we had a very great meeting at friends' meeting-place, at which many hundreds of the world's people were, and some of high rank in the world's account; for there was an earl, and a lord, and divers other eminent persons, who all behaved themselves very civilly. But when the meeting was ended, some priests began to make some opposition, which when William Penn understood, he stood up again, and answered them to the great satisfaction of the people, who were much affected with the several testimonies that they had heard declared. And after the meeting several of them

came to Gertrude's, where we were, with whom George Keith had much discourse in Latin.

Having now finished our service at Amsterdam, we took leave of the friends there, and passed by waggon to Leyden, which is about twenty-five miles, where we staid a day or two, seeking out and visiting some tender people that we heard of there. We met there with a German, who was partly convinced, and he informed us of an eminent man, that was inquiring after truth. Some sought him out, and visited him, and found him a serious man; and I spake to him, and he owned the truth. William Penn and Benjamin Furly went to visit another great man, that lived a little out of Leyden, who, they said, had been general to the king of Denmark's forces; and he and his wife were very loving to them, and heard the truth with joy.

From Leyden we went to the Hague, where the prince of Orange then kept his court; and we visited one of the judges of Holland, with whom we had pretty much discourse. He was a wise, tender man, and put many objections and queries to us, which, when we had answered, he was satisfied, and parted with us in much love. Then leaving the Hague, we went to Delft, and from thence that night to Rotterdam, where we staid several days, and had several meetings there. While I was here I gave forth a book for the Jews; with whom, when I was at Amsterdam, I had a desire to have had some discourse, but they would not. Here also I reviewed several other books and papers, which I had given forth before, and were now transcribed.

And now finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had commanded us to do in Holland, we took leave of friends of Rotterdam, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day in the packet-boat for England; several friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and some of Amsterdam, who were come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet-boat not coming in till night, we were fain to lodge that night at the Briel; and next day, being the one and twentieth of the eighth month, and the first-day of the week, we went on board, and set sail about the tenth hour, viz. William Penn, George Keith and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children.

We were in all about sixty passengers, and had a long and hazardous passage; for the winds were contrary to us, and the weather stormy; the boat also very leaky, in-somuch that we were fain to have two pumps continually going both day and night; so that it was thought there was twice as much water pumped out as the vessel would

have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease, and the raging waves of the sea to be calm, yea to raise them and stop them at his pleasure, he alone did preserve us: praised be his name for ever. Though our passage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good service for truth on board among the passengers, some of whom were a sort of great folks, and they were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich on the twenty-third of the eighth month at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea. Next morning William Penn and George Keith took horse for Colchester, but I staid, and had a meeting at Harwich; and there being no Colchester coach there, and the postmaster's wife being unreasonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it also after we had hired it, we went to a friend's house about a mile and an half off in the country, and hired his waggon, which we bedded well with straw, and rode in it to Colchester.

I staid in Colchester till the first-day of the week, having a desire to be at friends' meeting there that day; and a very large and weighty meeting it was: for friends hearing of my return from Holland, flocked in thither from several parts of the country, and many of the town's people coming in also, it was thought there were about a thousand people at the meeting; and all was peaceable. Then having staid a day or two longer at Colchester, having service amongst friends there, I travelled through Essex, visiting friends at Halsted, Braintree, Felsted and Saling, and having meetings with them. At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening; and there being many friends prisoners, they got liberty and came to the meeting; and we were all well refreshed together in the Lord. Next day, being the ninth of the ninth month, I got to London, where friends received me with great joy; and on the fifth-day following went to Gracechurch-street-meeting, where the Lord visited us with his refreshing presence, and the glory of the Lord surrounded the meeting: praised be the Lord.

After I had been a little while in London, I writ the following letter to my wife, whom (though I had written to her several times out of Holland) I had not written to since I came into England.

' Dear Heart,

' To whom is my love, and to the children, and to all the rest of friends, in the Lord's truth, power, and seed, that is over all; glory to the Lord, and blessed be his name

for ever beyond all words, who hath carried me through and over many trials and dangers, in his eternal power. I have been twice at Gracechurch-street-meeting; and though the opposite spirits were there, yet all was quiet, and the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of the Lord shined over all. Every day I am fain to be at meetings about business, and sufferings, which are great abroad; and now many friends are concerned with many persons about them: so in haste, with my love to you all—'

G. F.

London, the 24th of the Ninth
Month, 1677.

About this time I received letters from New England, which gave account of the magistrates' and rulers' cruel and unchristian-like proceedings against friends there, whipping and abusing them very shamefully; for they whipped many women friends, and one woman they tied to a cart, and dragged her along the street, she being stripped above the waist. Yea, they whipped some masters of ships that were not friends, only for bringing friends thither. And at that very time, while they were persecuting friends in this barbarous manner, the Indians slew threescore of their men, and took one of their captains, and flayed the skin off of his head while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph; so that the sober people said the judgments of God came upon them for persecuting the Quakers; but the blind dark priests said it was because they did not persecute them enough. So a great exercise I had in seeking relief here for our poor suffering friends there, that they might not lie under the rod of the wicked.

Upon this and other services for truth, to get friends' sufferings in several places taken off, I staid in London a month or five weeks, visiting meetings, and helping and encouraging friends to labour for the deliverance of their suffering brethren in other parts. Afterwards I went down to Kingston, and visited friends there and thereaway. And having staid a little among friends there, overlooking a book which I had then ready to go to the press, I went from thence across the country into Buckinghamshire, visiting friends, and having several meetings amongst them, as at Amersham, Hunger-hill, Jordans, Hedgerly, Wickham, and Turvil-heath; in some of which, they that were gone out from the unity of friends in truth into strife, opposition, and division, were very unruly and troublesome. Particularly at the men's meeting at Thomas

Ellwood's at Hunger-hill, where the chief of them came from Wickham, endeavouring to make a disturbance in the meeting, and to hinder friends from proceeding in the business of the meeting. When I saw their design I admonished them to be sober and quiet, and not trouble the meeting by interrupting the service thereof, but rather, if they were dissatisfied with friends' proceedings, and had any thing to object, let a meeting be appointed on purpose some other day. So friends offered them to give them a meeting another day: and at length it was agreed to be at Thomas Ellwood's the week following. Accordingly friends met them there, and the meeting was in the barn (for there came so many, both of friends and of them, that the house could not receive them;) so after we had sat a while they began their jangling, and most of their arrows were shot at me; but the Lord was with me, and gave me strength in his power to cast back their darts of envy and falsehood upon themselves. And so their objections were answered, and things were opened to the people, and a good opportunity it was, and serviceable to the truth; for many that before were weak, were now strengthened and confirmed; and some that were doubting and wavering, were satisfied and settled; and the faithful friends were refreshed and comforted in the springings of life amongst us; for the power rose, and life sprung, and in the arisings thereof many living testimonies were borne against that wicked, dividing, rending spirit, which those opposers were joined to and acted by; and the meeting ended to the satisfaction of friends. That night I lodged with other friends at Thomas Ellwood's, and the same week I had a meeting again with those opposers at Wickham, where they again shewed their envy, and were made manifest to the upright-hearted.

Now after I had visited friends in that upper side of Buckinghamshire, I called upon friends at Henley in Oxfordshire, and afterwards went by Corsham to Reading, where I was at friends meeting on the first-day of the week, and in the evening had a large meeting with friends. Next day there being another meeting amongst friends, concerning settling a women's meeting, some of them that had let in the spirit of division, fell into jangling, and were disorderly for a while, till the weight of truth brought them down. After this meeting I passed on through the country, visiting friends and having meetings amongst them in several places through Berkshire and Wiltshire, and so on till I came to Bristol, which was on the 24th day of the 11th month, just before the fair.

I staid at Bristol all the time of the fair, and some time after, and many sweet and precious meetings we had there at that time, many friends being there from several parts of the nation, some on the account of trade, and some in the service of truth. And great was the love and unity of friends that abode faithful in the truth, though some who were gone out of the holy unity, and were run into strife, division, and enmity, were rude and abusive to me, and behaved themselves in a very unchristian manner towards me. But the Lord's power was over all, by which being preserved in the heavenly patience, which could bear injuries for his name's sake, I felt dominion therein over the rough, rude, and unruly spirits; and would leave them to the Lord, who knew my innocency, and would plead my cause. And the more these laboured to reproach and vilify me, the more did the love of friends, that were sincere and upright-hearted, abound towards me; and some that had been betrayed by the adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behaviour, brake off from them: who have cause to bless the Lord for their deliverance.

When I left Bristol, I went with Richard Snead to a house of his in the country, and from thence to Hezekiah Coale's at Winterburn, in Gloucestershire, whither came several friends that were under great sufferings for truth's sake, whom I had invited to meet me there. And there Stephen Smith, Richard Snead, and I, drew up a breviat of their sufferings, setting forth the illegal proceedings against them, which was delivered to the judges at the assizes at Gloucester; and they promised to put a stop to those illegal proceedings. Next day we passed to Sudbury, and had a large meeting in the meeting-house there, which at that time was of very good service. We went next day to Nathaniel Crips's at Tedbury, and from thence passed on to Nailsworth, where on the first day of the week we had a brave meeting, and large. From thence we went to the quarterly meeting at Finchcomb, where were several of the opposite spirit, who (it was thought) intended to have made some disturbance amongst friends, but the Lord's power was over and kept them down, and good service for the Lord we had at that meeting. We returned from Finchcomb to Nailsworth again, and had another very precious meeting there, to which friends came from the several meetings thereabouts, which made it very large also.

We went from Nailsworth on the first-day of the first month, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, and travelled through the country visiting

friends, and having many meetings amongst them at Cirencester, Crown Allins, Cheltenham, Stoke-Orchard, Tewkesbury, &c. so went to Worcester, where I had formerly suffered imprisonment above a year for the truth's sake; and friends rejoiced greatly to see me there again. Here I staid several days, and had many very precious meetings in the city, and much service amongst friends. After which travelling through the country, I had meetings at Parshow and Evesham, and then struck to Ragley in Warwickshire, to visit her that was called the Lady Conway, who I understood was very desirous to see me, and whom I found tender and loving, and willing to have detained me longer than I had freedom to stay. About two miles from hence I had two meetings at a friend's house, whose name was John Stangle, whither William Dewsbury came to me, and staid with me about half a day. Afterwards I visited friends in their meetings thereabouts, at Stratford, Lamcoat, and Armscott (from whence it was that I was sent prisoner to Worcester in the year 1673) and thence passed into Oxfordshire, visiting friends, and having meetings at Sibbard, North-Newton, Banbury, Adderbury, &c. Then visiting friends through Buckinghamshire, at Long-Crendon, Ilmer, Mendle, Weston, Cholsberry, Chesham, &c. having several meetings amongst them, I came to Isaac Penington's, where I staid a few days; and then turning into Hertfordshire, visited friends at Charlewood, Watford, Hempstead, and Market-street, at which places I had meetings with friends. From Market-street I went in the morning to Luton in Bedfordshire, to see John Crook, with whom I spent good part of the day, and went towards evening to Alban's, where I lay that night at an inn. And visiting friends at South-Mims, and at Barnet and Hendon, where I had meetings, I came to London on the eighth day of the third month. And it being the fourth-day of the week, I went to Gracious-street meeting, which was peaceable and well, and many friends, not knowing I was come to town, were very joyful to see me there; and the Lord was present with us, refreshing us with his living virtue, blessed be his holy name.

The parliament was sitting when I came to town, and friends having laid their sufferings before them, were waiting on them for relief against the laws made against popish recusants, which they knew we were not, though some malicious magistrates took advantages against us, to prosecute us in several parts of the nation upon those statutes. So friends being attending on that service when I came, I

joined with them therein; and some probability there was that something might have been obtained towards friends' ease and relief in that case, many of the parliament-men being tender and loving towards us, as believing we were much misrepresented by our adversaries. But when I went down one morning with George Whitehead to the parliament house, to attend upon them on friends' behalf, on a sudden they were prorogued, though but for a short time.

About two weeks after I came to London, the yearly meeting began, to which friends came up out of most parts of the nation, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. Oh the glory, majesty, love, life, wisdom, and unity, that were amongst us! the power reigned over all, and many testimonies were borne therein against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions amongst the Lord's people; but not one mouth was opened amongst us in its defence, or on its behalf. Good and comfortable accounts also we had, for the most part, from friends in other countries, of which I find a brief account in a letter, which soon after I writ to my wife, the copy whereof here follows:

‘ Dear Heart,

‘ To whom is my love in the everlasting seed of life that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all, the like hath not been; and the Lord hath in his power knit friends wonderfully together, and the glorious presence of the Lord did appear among friends. And now the meetings are over, (blessed be the Lord) in quietness and peace. From Holland I hear that things are well there: some friends are gone that way, to be at their yearly meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, friends that were banished, are gotten into the city again. At Dantzic, friends are in prison, and the magistrates threatened them with harder imprisonment; but the next day the Lutherans rose, and plucked down (or defaced) the popish monastery: so they have work enough among themselves. The king of Poland did receive my letter, and read it himself; and friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the half-yearly meeting in Ireland I hear that they be all in love there. And at Barbadoes friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antego also and Nevis, truth prospers, and friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New England and other places, things concerning truth and friends are well; and

in those places the mens' and womens' meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord. So keep in God's power and seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all in his glory, and in his kingdom; glory to his name for ever, amen. So in haste, with my love to you all, and to all friends.'

G. F.

London, the 26th of the
3d month, 1678.

The letter to the king of Poland before mentioned, is as followeth :

To Johannes III. King of Poland, &c.

' O King!

' We desire thy prosperity both in this life and that which is to come. And we desire that we may have our Christian liberty to serve and worship God under thy dominion; for our principle leads us not to do any thing prejudicial to the king or his people. For we are a people that do exercise a good conscience towards God through his holy Spirit, and in it do serve, and worship, and honour him; and towards men in the things that be equal and just, doing to them as we would have them do unto us; and looking unto Jesus, who is the author and finisher of our faith; which faith purifies our hearts, and brings us to have access to God, without which we cannot please him; by which faith all the just live, as the scripture declares. And so, that which we desire of thee, O king, is, that we may have the liberty of our consciences to serve and worship God, and to pray unto him in our meetings together in the name of Jesus, as he commands, with a promise that he will be in the midst of them. The king, we do hope, cannot but say that this duty and service is due to God and Christ, and we give Cæsar his due, and pay our tribute and custom equal with our neighbour, according to our proportion. And we never read in all the scriptures of the New Testament, that ever Christ or his disciples did banish or imprison any that were not of their faith or religion, and would not hear them, or gave any such command; but on the contrary, let the tares and the wheat grow together, till the harvest; and the harvest is the end of the world. And then Christ will send his angels to sever the wheat from the tares, &c. And also he rebuked such that would have had fire to come down

from heaven, to consume such that would not receive Christ; and told them that they did not know what spirit they were of; he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

‘ And therefore we desire the king to consider how much persecution has been in Christendom since the apostles’ days, concerning religion. And Christ said, they should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison, then what will become of them that imprison him in his members, where he is manifest? And now none can say that the world is ended; and therefore how will all Christendom answer the dreadful and terrible God at his day of judgment, that have persecuted one another about religion before the end of the world, under pretence of plucking up tares; which is not their work, but the angels, at the end of the world? And Christ commands men to love one another, and to love enemies, and by this they should be known to be his disciples. And therefore, Oh! that all Christendom had lived in peace and unity, that they might by their moderation, have judged both Turks and Jews; and let all have their liberty that do own God and Jesus, and walk as becomes the glorious gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so our desires are, that the Lord God of heaven may soften the king’s heart to all tender consciences that do fear the Lord, and are afraid of disobeying him.

‘ And now we intreat the king to read over some of the noble expressions of several kings and others, concerning liberty of conscience; and especially Stephanus, king of Poland, his sayings, viz. It belongeth not to me to reform the consciences; I have always gladly given that over to God, which belongeth to him; and so shall I do now, and also for the future. I will suffer the weeds to grow till the time of harvest, for I know that the number of believers are but small: therefore, said he, when some were proceeding in persecution, I am king of the people, not of their consciences. He also affirmed, that religion was not to be planted with fire and sword. Chron. Liberty of Religion, part 2.

Also a book wrote in French by W. M. anno 1576, hath this sentence, viz. Those princes that have ruled by gentleness and clemency, added to justice, and have exercised moderation and meekness towards their subjects, always prospered and reigned long; but on the contrary, those princes that have been cruel, unjust, prejudiced, and oppressors of their subjects, have soon fallen, they and their estates, into danger, or total ruin.

‘ Veritus saith, Seeing Christ is a Lamb, whom you profess to be your head and captain, then it behoveth you to be sheep, and to use the same weapons which he made use of; for he will not be a shepherd of wolves and wild beasts, but only of sheep. Wherefore, if you lose the nature of sheep (said he) and be changed into wolves and wild beasts, and use fleshly weapons, then will you exclude yourselves out of his calling, and forsake his banner; and then will he not be your captain, &c.

‘ And also we find it asserted by king James in his speech to the parliament in the year 1609, That it is a pure rule in divinity, that God never planted his church with violence of blood. And furthermore he said, it was usually the condition of Christians to be persecuted, but not to persecute.

‘ And also king Charles, in his *Ἐκὼν Βασιλεὺς*, page 61, said in his prayer to God, Thou seest how much cruelty amongst Christians is acted under the colour of religion; as if we could not be Christians unless we crucified one another.

‘ And page 28, Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent nor injurious, can be religious.

‘ Page 70, Nor is it so proper to hew out religious reformation by the sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not force, but reason must convince.

‘ And page 66, Take heed, that outward circumstances and formalities in religion devour not all.

‘ And page 91, 92, In point of true conscientious tenderness I have so often declared, how little I desire my laws and sceptre should intrench on God’s sovereignty, who is the only King of conscience.

‘ Page 123, Nor do I desire any man should be further subject unto me, than all of us may be subject unto God.

‘ Page 200, O thou Sovereign of our souls, the only Commander of our consciences.

‘ Page 346, (in his Meditations on Death), It is indeed a sad state to have his enemies to be his accusers, parties, and judges.

‘ The prince of Orange testified, anno 1579, That it was impossible the land should be kept in peace, except there was a free toleration in the exercise of religion.

‘ And further, Where hast thou read in thy day (said Menno) in the writing of the apostles, that Christ or the apostles ever cried out to the magistrate for their power against them that would not hear their doctrine, nor obey their words? I know certainly (said he) that where a

magistrate shall banish with the sword, there is not the right knowledge, spiritual word, nor church of Christ; it is, *Invocare brachium seculare*, (to invoke the secular arm.)

‘ It is not Christian-like, but tyrannical (said D. Philipson) to banish and persecute people about faith and religion; and they that so do, are certainly of the pharisaical generation, who resisted the Holy Ghost.

‘ Erasmus said, That though they take our monies and goods, they cannot therefore hurt our salvation; they afflict us much with prisons, but they do not thereby separate us from God. *In de Krydges wrede*, fol. 63.

‘ Lucernus said, He that commandeth any thing, where-with he bindeth the conscience, this is an antichrist. *In de Bemise Disp.* fol. 71.

‘ Irenæus affirmed, That all forcing of conscience, though it was but a forbidding of the exercise, which is esteemed by one or another to be necessary to salvation, is in no wise right nor fitting. He also affirmed, that through the diversity of religions, the kingdom should not be brought into any disturbance.

‘ Constantius, the emperor, said, That it was enough that he preserved the unity of the faith, that he might be excusable before the judgment-seat of God; and that he would leave every one to his own understanding, according to the account he will give before the judgment-seat of Christ. Hereto may we stir up people, (said he) not compel them; beseech them to come into the unity of the Christians, but to do violence to them, we will not in any wise. *Sebast. Frank, Chron.* fol. 127.

‘ Augustinus said, Some disturbed the peace of the church, while they went about to root out the tares before their time; and through this error of blindness (said he) are they themselves separated so much the more, from being united unto Christ.

‘ Retnaldus testified, That he, who with imprisoning and persecution seeketh to spread the gospel, and groweth his hands with blood, shall much rather be looked upon for a wild hunter than a preacher, or a defender of the Christian religion.

‘ I have for a long season determined (said Henry the IV. king of France, in his speech to the parliament 1594.) to reform the church, which, without peace (said he) I cannot do: and it is impossible to reform or convert people by violence. I am king, as a shepherd (said he) and will not shed the blood of my sheep, but will gather them through the mildness and goodness of a king, and not

through the power of tyranny: and I will give them that are of the reformed religion, right liberty, to live and dwell free, without being examined, perplexed, molested, or compelled to any thing, contrary to their consciences; for they shall have the free exercise of their religion, &c. [Vid. Chron. Van de Underg. 2. deel, p. 1514.]

‘ Ennius said, Wisdom is driven out, when the matter is acted by force. And therefore the best of men, and most glorious of princes, were always ready to give toleration.

‘ Euseb, in his second book of the life of Constantine, reports these words of the emperor: Let them which err, with joy receive the like fruition of peace and quietness with the faithful; sith the restoring of communication and society may bring them into the right way of truth: let none give molestation to any; let every one do as he determines in his mind. And indeed, there is great reason for princes to give toleration to disagreeing persons, whose opinions cannot by fair means be altered; for if the persons be confident, they will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be publicly prohibited, they will privately convene: and then all those inconveniences and mischiefs, which are arguments against the permission of conventicles, are arguments for the public permission of differing religions, &c. they being restrained and made miserable, endears the discontented persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations.

‘ The like counsel in the divisions of Germany at the first reformation, was thought reasonable by the emperor Ferdinand, and his excellent son Maximilian; for they had observed, that violence did exasperate, was unblest, unsuccessful, and unreasonable; and therefore they made decrees of toleration.

‘ The duke of Savoy, repenting of his war undertaken for religion against the Piedmontans, promised them toleration; and was as good as his word.

‘ Also is it remarkable, that till the time of Justinian the emperor, anno domini 525, the Catholics and Novatians had churches indifferently permitted, even in Rome itself.

‘ And Paul preached the kingdom of God, teaching those things which concerned the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence; and no man forbade him: and this he did for the space of two years in his own hired house at Rome, and received all that came to him.

‘ Now, O king, seeing these noble testimonies concerning liberty of conscience of kings, emperors, and others, and the liberty that Paul had at Rome in the days of the

heathen emperor, our desire is, that we may have the same liberty at Dantzic to meet together in our own hired houses; which cannot be any prejudice, either to the king and the city of Dantzic, for us to meet together to wait upon the Lord, and pray unto him, and to serve and worship him in spirit and truth in our own hired houses; seeing our principle leads us to hurt no man, but to love our enemies, and to pray for them; yea, them that do persecute us. And therefore, O king, consider, and the city of Dantzic, would you not think it hard for others to force you from your religion to another, contrary to your consciences? And if it be so, that you would think it hard to you, then do you unto others as you would have them do unto you; do not you that unto others, which you would not have them do unto you; for that is the royal law, which ought to be obeyed. And so in love to thy immortal soul, and for thy eternal good this is written.'

G. F.

Postscript.

'Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. And remember, O king, Justin Martyr's two apologies to the Roman emperors, in the defence of the persecuted Christians; and that notable apology, which was written by Tertullian, upon the same subject; which are not only for the Christian religion, but against all persecution for religion.'

Dear Peter Hendricks, and John Claus, and J. Rawlins, and all the rest of friends in Amsterdam, Friezland, and Rotterdam, to whom is my love in the seed of life, that is over all.

'I received thy letter, with a letter from Dantzic: I have written something to you to the king of Poland, which you may translate into High Dutch, and send it to friends there to give it to the king; or you may print it, after it be delivered in manuscript, which may be serviceable to other princes. So in haste, with my love. And the Lord God Almighty over all give you dominion in his eternal power, and in it over all preserve you, and keep you to his glory, that you may answer that of God in all people. Amen.'

GEORGE FOX.

London, the 13th of
9th month, 1677.

I continued yet in and about London some weeks, the parliament sitting again, and friends attending upon them to get some redress of our sufferings, which about this time were very great, and heavy upon many friends in divers parts of the nation; they being very unduly prosecuted upon the statutes made against popish recusants: though our persecutors could not but know that friends were utterly against popery; having borne testimony against it in word and writing, and suffered under it. But though many of the members of parliament in either house were kind to friends, and willing to have done something for their ease, yet having much business upon them, they were hindered from doing the good they would, so that the sufferings upon friends were continued.

But that which added much to the grief and exercise of friends, was, that some who made a profession of the same truth with us, being gone from the simplicity of the gospel into a fleshly liberty, and labouring to draw others after them, did oppose the order and discipline, which God by his power had set up and established in his church; and made a great noise and clamour against prescriptions; whereby they easily drew after them such as were loosely inclined, and desired a broader way than the path of truth to walk in. Some also that were more simple, but young in truth, or weak in judgment, were apt to be betrayed by them, not knowing the depths of satan in these wiles; for whose sakes I was moved to write the following paper, for the undeceiving the deceived, and the opening the understandings of the weak in this matter:

“All you that do deny prescriptions without distinction, you may as well deny all the scriptures, which were given forth by the power and spirit of God. For do not they prescribe how men should walk both to God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yea, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis, what people ought to believe and trust in, and all along till we come to the prophets? Did not the Lord prescribe to his people, both by the fathers and then by his prophets? did he not prescribe to the people how they should walk, though they turned against the prophets in the old covenant, for declaring or prescribing to them the way, how they might walk to please God and keep in favour with him? And then after, in the days of Christ, did not he prescribe and teach, how people should walk and believe? And after him the apostles, did not they prescribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the gospel and

the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they should walk in the new covenant in the days of the gospel, and by what way they should come to the holy city? And did not the apostles send forth their decrees by faithful chosen men (them that had hazarded their lives for Christ's sake) to the churches, by which they were established? And so you that deny prescriptions given forth by the power and spirit of God, do thereby oppose the Spirit, that gave them forth in all the holy men of God. And were there not some all along in the days of Moses, and in the days of the prophets, and in the days of Christ, and in the days of his apostles, who did withstand that which they gave forth from the spirit of God? And hath there not been the same since the days of the apostles? And how many have risen, since truth appeared, to oppose the order which stands in the power and spirit of God? who are but in the same spirit, which hath opposed the spirit of God all along from the beginning. And see, what names or titles the spirit of God gave that opposing spirit in the old covenant, and also in the new, which is the same now as was: for after the Lord had given forth the old covenant, there were some among themselves that did oppose, which were worse than public enemies. And likewise after, in the days of the new covenant, in the gospel-times, you may see what sort did oppose both Christ and the apostles, after they came to some sights of the truth, and how they turned against Christ and his apostles? And see what liberty they pleaded for, and ran into in the apostles' days, who could not abide the cross, the yoke of Jesus. And therefore we see the same rough and high spirit cries now for liberty (which the power and spirit of Christ cannot give,) and cries imposition, and yet is imposing; and cries liberty of conscience, and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; and cries against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing both in words and writing: so with the everlasting power and spirit of God this spirit is fathomed; its rise, beginning and end; and it is judged. And this spirit cries, we must not judge conscience; we must not judge matters of faith; and we must not judge the spirits, nor religions, &c. Yes; they that be in the pure spirit and power of God, which the apostles were in; they judge of conscience, whether it be a seared conscience or a tender conscience: they judge of faith, whether it be a dead one, or a living one: they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure or defiled: they judge of spirits, and try them whether they be of God or no: they judge of hope, whether it be of hypocrites, or

the true hope that purifies, even as God is pure: they judge of belief, whether it be that which is born of God, and overcometh the world, or that which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy and doth not overcome the world. And they judge of worships, whether they be will-worships, and the worship of the beast and dragon, or the worship of God in spirit and in truth. They judge of angels, whether they be fallen, or them that keep their habitation. And they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the spirit, and hates the light, and turns the grace of God into wantonness, and resists the Holy Ghost: they judge of the hearts, ears and lips which are circumcised, and which are uncircumcised: they judge of ministers, and apostles, and messengers, whether they be of satan or of Christ: they judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yea, the least member of the church hath power to judge of such things, having the one true measure, and true weight to weigh things, and measure things withal, without respect to persons. And this judgment is given, and all these things are done by the same power and spirit the apostles were in. And also such can judge of election and reprobation; and who keep their habitation, and who not; and who are Jews, and who are of the synagogue of satan; and who are in the doctrine of Christ, and who are in the doctrines of devils; and who prescribes and declares things from the power and spirit of God, to preserve all in the power and spirit of God; and who prescribes and declares things from a loose spirit, to let all loose from under the yoke of Christ, the power of God, into looseness and liberty. And likewise can judge and discern, who brings people into the possession of the gospel of light and life, over death and darkness, and into the truth, where the devil cannot get in; and who brings them into the possession of death and darkness, out of the glorious liberty of the gospel, and of Jesus Christ, and his faith, and truth, and spirit, and light, and grace. For there is no true liberty, but in that; and that liberty answers the grace, the truth, the light, the spirit, the faith, the gospel of Christ in every man and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and woman. And that makes it rage, and swell, and puff up; for that is restless and unruly and out of patience, and is ready to curse his god, and that which reigns over him, because it hath not its will. And it works with all subtilty and evasion with its restless spirit, to get in and defile the minds of the simple, and to make rapes upon the virgin minds. But as they receive the heavenly wisdom, by which all things were

made (which wisdom is above that spirit) through this wisdom they will be preserved over that spirit. And Christ hath given judgment to his saints in his church, though he be judge of all; and the saints, in the power and spirit of God, had and have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and conversations, and growths and states from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savour of death, and to whom they are a savour of life; and who serve the Lord Jesus Christ and preach him, and who preach themselves and serve themselves: and who talk of the light, and of faith, and of the gospel, and of hope, and of grace, and preach such things; and in their works and lives deny them all, and God and Christ, and preach up liberty from that in themselves to that in others, which should be under the yoke and cross of Christ, the power of God. And so the saints in the power and spirit of Christ can discern and distinguish, who serves God and Christ, and who serves him not; and so can put a distinction between the profane and the holy. But such as have lost their eye-salve, and their sight is grown dim, lose this judgment, discerning, and distinction in the church of Christ, and such come to be spewed out of Christ's mouth, except they repent; and if not, they come to corrupt the earth and burden it, that it vomits them out of it. And therefore all are exhorted to keep in the power and spirit of Christ Jesus, and in the word of life, and the wisdom of God (which is above that that is below) in which they may keep their heavenly understandings, and heavenly discernings; and so set the heavenly spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment; which dishonours God; which leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity, which stands in the heavenly Spirit, which brings into conformity, and to be conformable to the image of the Son of God and his gospel, the power of God (which was before the devil was) and his truth (which the devil is out of) in which all are of one mind, heart and soul; and come to drink into one Spirit, being baptized into one Spirit, and so into one body, which Christ is the head of; and so keep one fellowship in the Spirit, and unity in the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes peace. And they that cry so much against judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apostates, professors or profane, they are the most judging with their censorious, false spirits and judgment; and yet cannot bear the true judgment of the Spirit of God, nor stand in his judgment. This hath been manifest from the beginning, they having the false measures, and the false weights; for none have the true measure and

true weight, but who keep in the light, power and spirit of Christ. And now there is a loose spirit, that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing ways both by words and writings. And the same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, and yet is judging with a wrong spirit. And this is given forth in reproof to that spirit.' G. F.

London, the 9th of the 4th month, 1678.

When I had finished what service I had for the Lord at this time here, I left London and went towards Hertford; visiting friends, and having several meetings in the way. At Hertford I staid several days, having much service for the Lord there, both amongst friends in their meetings, and in conferences with such as having let in evil surmising and jealousies concerning friends, stood in opposition to the order of truth: and in answering some books that had been written against truth and friends. And while I was here, it came upon me to write a few lines, and send them abroad amongst friends, as followeth:

'Dear friends,

'Let the holy seed of life reign over death and the unholy seed in you all; that in the holy seed of the kingdom ye may all feel the everlasting holy peace with God, through Christ Jesus, your Saviour, and sit down in him, your life and glorious rest, the holy rock and foundation, that standeth sure over all from everlasting to everlasting, in whom all the fulness of blessedness is; so that ye may glory in him that liveth for evermore, Amen. Who is your eternal joy, life and happiness; through whom you have peace with God. Which holy seed bruise the head of the serpent, and will out-live all his wrath and rage, malice and envy; who was before he and it was, and remains when he and it is gone into the fire, that burns with brimstone. The seed, Christ, will reign; and so will ye, as ye do live and walk in him, and sit down in Christ, and build up one another in the love of God.' G. F.

Hertford, the 10th of the 5th month, 1678.

Next day a fresh exercise came upon me, with respect to those unruly and disorderly spirits, which were gone out from us, and were labouring to draw others after them into a false liberty. And in the sense I had of the hurt and mischief these might do, where they were given way to, I was moved to write a few lines to warn friends of them, as followeth:

‘ All friends,

‘ Keep in the tender life of the Lamb, over that unruly, puffed up and swelling spirit, whose work is for strife, contention and division, drawing into looseness and false liberty, under a pretence of conscience, and dangerous to the spoiling of youth. They that do encourage them, will be guilty of their destruction, and set up a sturdy will instead of conscience in their rage and passion; which will quench the universal spirit in themselves, and in every man and woman: and so, that spirit shall not have the liberty in themselves, nor in others, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven in themselves, and also in others. And so a loose spirit getting up under a pretence of liberty of conscience; or a stubborn will, making a profession of the words of truth in a form without power, all looseness and vileness will be sheltered and covered under this pretence, which is for eternal judgment: for that doth dishonour God. Therefore keep to the tender Spirit of God in all humility, that in it you may know, that ye are all members of one another, and all have an office in the church of Christ; and all these living members know one another in the spirit, and not in the flesh. So here is no man ruling over the woman, as Adam did over Eve in the fall: but Christ, the spiritual man, among and over his spiritual members, which are edified in the heavenly love that is shed in their heart from God, where all strife ceases.’

G. F.

Hertford, the 11th of the
Fifth month, 1678.

I went from Hertford to a meeting at Rabley-heath about six miles from thence; and after the meeting to Edward Crouch's, of Stevenage: from whence next day I went to Baldock, where I had a meeting that evening; and after that had meetings at Hitchin and Ashwell. Then passing through some part of Bedfordshire, where I had a meeting or two, I went on to Huntingdon, in which county I staid several days, having many meetings, and much service amongst friends, labouring to convince gainsayers, and to confirm and strengthen friends in the way and work of the Lord. At Ives in Huntingdonshire George Whitehead came to me, and travelled with me in the work of the Lord for five or six days in that county, and in some part of Northamptonshire; and leaving me in Great Bowden in Leicestershire, he went on towards Westmoreland, whither he was travelling. I staid longer in Leicestershire, visiting friends at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sileby,

Swannington, and divers other places; where I had very precious meetings, and very good service amongst friends and other people: for there was great openness, and many weighty and excellent truths did the Lord give me to open amongst them.

At Leicester I went to the jail to visit the friends that were in prison there for the testimony of Jesus, with whom I spent some time; encouraging them in the Lord to persevere stedfastly and faithfully in their testimony, and not to be weary of suffering for his sake. And when I had taken my leave of the friends, I spake with the jailer, desiring him to be kind to them, and let them have what liberty he could, to visit their families sometimes.

After I had been in Leicestershire, I had a meeting or two in Warwickshire, and then went into Staffordshire, where I had several sweet and opening meetings, both for gathering into truth and establishing therein. And while I was in Staffordshire I was moved to give forth the following paper:

‘ Dear friends of the quarterly and monthly meetings every where: my desire is, that ye may all strive to be of one mind in the Lord’s power and truth, which is peaceable (into which strife and enmity cannot come) and also in the wisdom of God, which is pure, peaceable, and easy to be intreated (which is above that that is below, that is earthly, devilish, and sensual) and that with and in this heavenly wisdom, that is peaceable, and easy to be intreated, you may be all ordered, and do what ye do, to God’s glory. And, dear friends, if there should happen at any time any thing that tends to strife, dispute, or contention in your monthly or quarterly meetings, let it be referred to half a dozen, or such a like number, to debate and end, out of your meeting (as it was at first): so that all your monthly and quarterly meetings may be kept peaceable. And then they may inform the meeting what they have done; so that the weak and youth amongst you may not be hurt, through hearing of strife or contention in your meetings, where no strife or contention ought to be: but all go on, and determine things in one mind, in the power of God, the gospel order: in which gospel of peace ye will preserve the peace of all your meetings. And if any man or woman have any thing against any one, let them speak to one another, and end it betwixt themselves; and if they cannot so end it, let them take two or three to end it. And in case they determine it not, let it be laid before the church; and then let half a dozen, or such a number

out of your monthly or quarterly meeting hear it, and finally end it, without respect of persons. And let all prejudice be laid aside and buried, and also all shortness one towards another; and let love (which is not puffed up, and envies not, and seeks not her own, but bears all things) rule, sway, and have the dominion in all your meetings: for that doth edify the body, which Christ is the head of; and this will sway all sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Now this love will suffer long, and is kind, and will keep down that which will vaunt itself, or be puffed up, or behave itself unseemly, or is easily provoked: it hath a sway over all such fruits, which are not of the spirit, the fruit of which is love, &c. And that with this holy spirit ye may all be baptized into one body, and so be made all to drink into one spirit; in which spirit ye will have unity, in which is the bond of the King of kings and Lord of lords his peace. And they that dwell in love, they dwell in God; for God is love: therefore let every one keep his dwelling-place and his habitation. So with my love to you in Christ Jesus, the everlasting Seed, which is over all.

G. F.

Staffordshire, the 20th of the
Sixth Month, 1678.

Out of Staffordshire I went to visit John Gratton at Moniash in Derbyshire, with whom I tarried one night; and went next day to William Shaws of the Hill in Yorkshire, where I appointed a meeting to be on the first-day of the week following. Many friends out of Derbyshire and from several meetings in Yorkshire came to this meeting, and a precious, comfortable, opening meeting it was; wherein was opened the blessed estate that man was in before he fell; the means by which he fell; the miserable condition into which he fell; and the right way of coming out of it, into a happy state, again by Christ, the promised Seed.

After this I spent about two weeks in Yorkshire, travelling from place to place amongst friends in the Lord's service; and many heavenly meetings I had in that county. Then visiting Robert Widders, at Kellet in Lancashire, I passed to Arnside in Westmoreland, where I had a precious living meeting in the Lord's blessed power, to the great satisfaction and comfort of friends, who came from divers parts to it. The next day I went to Swarthmore, and it being the meeting-day there, I had a sweet opportunity with friends, our hearts being opened in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing amongst us.

I had not been long at Swarthmore, ere a concern came upon me to visit the churches of Christ in London and elsewhere, by an epistle, which was as followeth :

‘ Dear friends,

‘ To whom is my love in the heavenly Seed, in whom all nations are blessed. Oh, keep all in this Seed, in which ye are blessed, and in which Abraham and all the faithful were blessed, without the deeds of the law ; for the promise was and is to and with the Seed, and not with the law of the first covenant. In this Seed all nations, and ye, are blessed, which bruiseth the head of the seed that brought the curse, and separated between man and God. This is the Seed which reconciles you to God, and this is the Seed in which ye are blessed both in temporals and spirituals ; through which ye have an inheritance among the sanctified, that cannot be defiled, neither can any defiled thing enter into its possession ; for all defilements are out of this Seed. This is that which leavens up into a new lump, and bruiseth the head of the wicked seed, which leavens into the old lump, upon which the sun of righteousness goes down and sets ; but never goes down and sets to them that walk in the Seed, in which all nations are blessed : by which Seed they are brought up to God, which puts down that seed which separated betwixt them and God ; so that there comes to be nothing betwixt them and God. Now all my dear friends, my desires are that ye may all be valiant in this heavenly Seed, for God and his truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad, answering that of God in all ; that with it the minds of people may be turned towards the Lord ; that he may come to be known, and served, and worshipped : and that ye may all be the salt of the earth, to make the unseasoned savoury. And in the name of Jesus keep your meetings, who are gathered into it, in whose name ye have salvation ; he being in the midst of you, whose name is above every name under the whole heaven. And so, ye have a prophet and bishop, shepherd, priest, and counsellor (above all the counsellors and priests, bishops, prophets, and shepherds under the whole heaven) to exercise his offices among you, in your meetings, that are gathered in his name. For Christ’s meeting and gathering is above all the meetings and gatherings under the whole heaven : and his body, his church, and he the head of it, is above all the bodies, and churches, and heads under the whole heaven. And the faith that Christ is the author of, and the worship that he hath set up, and his fellowship in the gospel, is above all historical faiths, and

the faiths that man hath made, together with their worships and fellowships under the whole heaven. And now, dear friends, keep your men and women's meetings in the power of God, the gospel, the authority of them, which brings life and immortality to light in you; and this gospel, the power of God, will preserve you in life, and in immortality (which hath brought it to light in you) that ye may see over him that hath darkened, and kept from the knowledge of the things of God: for it is he and his instruments (which hath darkened you from life and immortality) that would throw down your men and women's meetings (which were set up in the power of God, the gospel), and would darken you again from this life and immortality, which the gospel hath brought to light, and will preserve you in, as your faith stands in this power of God, the gospel, in which every one sees your work and service for God. And every heir in the power of God, the gospel, hath right to this authority, which is not of man, nor by man; which gospel, the power of God, is everlasting, an everlasting order, an everlasting fellowship: and in the gospel is everlasting joy, comfort and peace, which will out-last all those joys, comforts, and peaces, that will have an end; and that spirit also, that opposes its order, and the glorious fellowship, peace, and comfort in it. And, my dear friends, my desire is, that ye may keep in the unity of the spirit, that baptizes you all into one body, which Christ is the heavenly and spiritual head of; so that ye may see and bear witness to your heavenly and spiritual head, and so all drink into the one Spirit: which all people upon the earth are not like to do, while they grieve, quench, and rebel against it; nor to be baptized into one body, and to keep the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace, yea, the King of kings and Lord of lords his peace; which it is the duty of all true Christians to keep, who are inwardly united to Christ. So with my love to you all in the everlasting Seed.'

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 26th of the
Seventh month, 1678.

There were about this time several friends in prison, for bearing testimony to the truth: to whom I was moved to write a few lines, to comfort, strengthen, and encourage them in their sufferings; having a true sense of their sufferings upon my spirit, and a sympathizing with them therein. And that which I writ was after this manner:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus’ sake, and for the testimony of his truth; the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you, and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience, and content in his will, that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting and destroying spirit, which makes to suffer in Christ (who bruises his head) in whom ye have both election and salvation. And for God’s elect sake the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world; as may be seen throughout the scriptures of truth: and they that touch them, touch the apple of God’s eye; they are so tender to him. And therefore it is good for all God’s suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him: for they shall be as Mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ their rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets, and the apostles, and of God’s people now, and to the end. Glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends, and do not think the time long: for all time is in the Father’s hand, his power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift: and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy Spirit of Faith, Amen.

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the
Twelfth month, 1678.

I abode in the north at this time above a year, having service for the Lord amongst friends there, and being much taken up in writing books and papers, some in defence of truth, in answer to books published by adversaries; and some for the opening the principles and doctrines of truth to the world, that they might come to have a right understanding thereof, and be gathered thereunto. Several epistles also to friends I writ in this time, on divers occasions and subjects; whereof one was to the friends of the yearly meeting, which was held in London this year, 1679, a copy of which here follows:

‘ My dear friends and brethren,

‘ Who are assembled together in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ; grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, fill all your hearts, and establish you in his grace, mercy, and peace upon Christ, the holy living rock and foundation, who is the first and last, and over all the rocks and foundations in the whole world; a rock and foundation of life for all the living to build upon, which stands sure in his heavenly

divine light, which is the life in him, by whom all things were made : who is the precious stone laid in Sion (and not in the world) which all the wise master-builders rejected, who pretended to build people up to heaven with the words of the prophets, and the law from Mount Sinai ; but out of the life of both : and therefore such builders could not receive the law of life from Christ, the precious stone laid in Sion, nor the word from heavenly Jerusalem. But you, my dear friends, that have received this law from heavenly Sion, and the word from heavenly Jerusalem, in the new covenant, where the life and substance is enjoyed, you do see the end and abolishing of the Jews' law and ceremonies from mount Sinai. And therefore my desire is, that you all may keep in the law of life and love, which ye have in Christ Jesus, by which love the body is edified, and knit and united together to Christ Jesus, the head. Which love doth bear all things, and fulfils the law ; and will preserve all in humility, and in it to be of one mind, heart, and soul : so that all may come to drink into that one spirit that doth baptize them, and circumcise them ; plunging down, and cutting off the body of the sins of the flesh, that is gotten up in man and woman by their transgressing of God's commands. So that in this holy, pure spirit, all may serve and worship the pure God in spirit and in truth, which is over all the worships that are out of God's spirit and his truth. And in this spirit ye will all have a spiritual unity and fellowship, over all the fellowships of the unclean spirits, which be out of truth in the world. And so by this holy spirit, all your hearts, minds, and souls, may be knit together to Christ, from whence it comes ; and by the grace and truth which is come by Jesus Christ, which all should be under the teachings of in the new covenant, and not under the law, as the outward Jews were in the old covenant. So that by this grace and truth in the new covenant, all may be made God's free men and women, to serve God in the new life, and in the new and living way ; shewing forth the fruits of the new heart and new spirit, in the new covenant, over death and darkness, and before it was : glory be unto the Lord for ever. And now friends, in this grace and truth is your heavenly, gracious, and true liberty to every spiritual mind, that makes you free from him, that is out of truth, where your bondage was. Also your liberty in the holy, divine, and precious faith, which gives you victory over that that hath separated you from God and Christ, and through which faith ye have access to God again, through Jesus Christ. So in this divine and holy faith, ye have divine, holy, and precious

liberty, yea, and victory over him that separated you from God : and this faith is held in a pure conscience. So the liberty in the Spirit of God is in that, which baptizes and plunges down sin and iniquity, and puts off the body of death, and sins of the flesh, that is gotten up by transgressing of God's command, as I said before. And also the liberty of the gospel, which is sent from heaven by the Holy Ghost, which is the power of God, which was and is again to be preached to all nations : in this gospel (the power of God, which is over the power of satan) is the true liberty, and the gospel-fellowship and order. So that the evil spirit or conscience, or false, dead faith, and that which is ungracious and out of truth, and not in the Spirit of God, nor in his gospel, nor in the divine faith, its liberty is in the darkness : for all the true liberty is in the gospel, and in the truth that makes free ; and in the faith, and in the grace, and in Christ Jesus, who destroys the devil and his works, that hath brought all mankind into bondage. So in this heavenly peaceable spirit, and truth, and faith, which works by love, and in the gospel of peace, and in Christ Jesus is all the saints' peace, and pure, true and holy liberty ; in which they have salt, and sense, and feeling, discerning, and savour, yea, and unity and fellowship one with another ; yea, and with the Son and the Father, that heavenly eternal fellowship. So all being subject to the grace, and truth, and to the faith, and gospel (the power of God) and to his good spirit ; in this they distinguish all true, pure, and holy liberty, from that which is false. And this will bring all to sit low : for patience runs the race, and the Lamb must have the victory ; and not the rough, unruly, and vain talkers, unbaptized, uncircumcised, and unsanctified. For such travel not in the way of regeneration, but in the way of unregeneration ; neither go they down into the death with Christ by baptism ; and therefore such are not like to reign with him in his resurrection, who are not buried with him in baptism. Therefore all must go downward into the death of Christ, and be crucified with him, if they will arise, and follow him in the regeneration, before they come to reign with him. And friends, many may have precious openings ; but I desire all may be comprehended in that thing which doth open to them. And that they may all keep in the daily cross ; then they keep in the power, that doth kill and crucify that, which would lead them amongst the beasts and goats, to leaven them into their rough, unruly spirit : but that through the cross, the power of God, that may be crucified, and they in the power might follow the Lamb. For the power of God keeps all

in order, and in subjection, and in humility, in that which is lovely and virtuous, decent, comely, temperate, and moderate; that their moderation comes to appear to all men. So my desire is that all your lights may shine, as from a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid; and that ye may be the salt of the earth, to salt and season it, and make it savoury to God, and you all seasoned with it. Then all your sacrifices will be a sweet savour to the Lord, and ye will be as the lilies and roses, and garden of God, which gives a sweet smell unto him; whose garden is preserved by his power; that is the hedge, that hedges out all the unruly and unsavoury, and the destroyers and hurters of the vines, buds, and plants, and God's tender blade, which springs up from his seed of life, who waters it with his heavenly water, and word of life every moment, that they may grow and be fruitful; that so he may have a pleasant and fruitful garden. And so here all are kept fresh and green, being watered every moment with the everlasting holy water of life, from the Lord, the fountain. So my dear friends, my desire is, that this heavenly seed, that bruises down the head of the serpent, both within and without, may be all your crowns and lives, and ye in him one another's crown and joy, to the praise of the Lord God over all, blessed for evermore. This holy seed will out-last and wear out all that which the evil seed since the fall of man hath brought forth and set up. And as every one hath received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him in the humility which he teaches; and shun the occasions of strife, vain janglings and disputings with men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth: for the truth is peaceable, and the gospel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God (which was before the devil was) and his wisdom is peaceable and gentle, &c. and his kingdom stands in peace. Oh, his glory shines over all his works: and in Christ Jesus ye will have peace, who is not of the world, yea, a peace that the world cannot take away: for the peace which ye have from him was before the world was, and will be when it is gone: so they are not like to take his peace away from his people. This keeps all in that, which is weighty and substantial, over all chaff, and will be when it is gone. Glory to the Lord God over all for ever and ever. Amen.

‘And now, my dear friends, the Lord doth require more of you than he doth of other people; because he hath committed more to you. He requires fruits of his Spirit, and of the light, and of the gospel, and of the grace, and of the truth; for herein is he glorified (as Christ said) in your

bringing forth much fruit; fruits of righteousness, holiness, godliness, virtue, truth and purity, so that ye may answer that which is of God in all people. And be ye valiant for his everlasting glorious gospel, in God's holy Spirit and truth; keeping in the unity, and in the holy Spirit, light and life, which is over death and darkness, and was before death and darkness was. In this Spirit ye have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken, except ye go from the Spirit; and then ye loose this unity and bond of peace, which ye have from the Prince of Peace.

'The world also does expect more from friends than from other people, because you profess more. Therefore you should be more just than others in your words and dealings, and more righteous, holy and pure in your lives and conversations; so that your lives and conversations may preach. For the world's tongues and mouths have preached long enough, but their lives and conversations have denied what their tongues have professed and declared.

'And dear friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, and that ye may grow in love, that excellent way which unites all to Christ and God; and that all may stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honour and glory, that in no wise his power may be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil talkers or walkers; but that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls and spirits, the little time ye have to live. So my love to you all in the holy seed of life, that reigns over all, and is the first and last; in whom ye all have life and salvation, and your election and peace with God, through Jesus Christ, who destroys him that hath been betwixt you and God; so that nothing may be betwixt you and the Lord, but Christ Jesus. Amen.

'My life and love is to you all, and amongst you all; and the Lord God Almighty by his mighty power, by which he hath preserved all his people unto this day, preserve and keep you all in his power and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and the Father. Amen.'

G. F.

The 24th of the 3rd month, 1679.

Divers other epistles and papers I writ unto friends, during my stay in the north; one whereof was in a few lines, to encourage friends to be bold and valiant for the

truth, which the Lord had called them to bear witness to ; and it was thus worded :

‘ Dear friends,

‘ All be valiant for the Lord’s truth upon the earth, which the serpent, satan and the devil is out of, and in the truth keep him out, in which you all have peace and life, and unity with God and his Son, and one with another. And let the love of God fill all your hearts, that in it ye may build up one another, and edify one another in the light, life and Holy Spirit, and power of God, the glorious comfortable gospel of Christ, the heavenly Man, who is your Lord and Saviour ; who will fill all your bottles and vessels with his heavenly wine and water of life, and clothe you with his heavenly clothing, his fine linen, that never waxeth old ; and will arm you with his heavenly weapons and armour, that ye may stand faithful witnesses for God and his Son, who is come, and hath given you an understanding to know him, and ye are in him : and so walk in him, in whom ye all have life and salvation, and peace with God. So my love to you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom I have laboured ; and God Almighty in his eternal power and wisdom preserve you all to his glory. Amen.’

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 29th of the
10th month, 1679.

The next day, having a sense upon me, how some that had received the truth, and had openings thereof, for want of keeping low, had run out therefrom, I was moved to give forth the following epistle, as a warning and exhortation to all to dwell in humility :

‘ My dear friends,

‘ Whom the Lord in his tender mercies hath visited with the day-spring from on high, and hath opened you to confess and bow to his name ; keep low in your minds, and learn of Christ, who teacheth you humility, and to keep in it : so that in no wise, ye that be younger, be exalted, or puffed up, or conceited through your openings, and by that means lose your conditions, by being carried up into presumption ; and then fall into despair, and so abuse the power of God. For it was the apostles’ care, that none should abuse the power of the Lord God ; but in all things their faith was to stand in the power of the Lord God : so that they all might be comprehended into the truth, which they did speak to others, that they might not be preachers

to others, and themselves cast-aways. Therefore it doth concern you to be comprehended into that, which ye do preach to others, and to keep low in it; and then the God of Truth will exalt the humble in his truth, light, grace, power and spirit, and in his wisdom to his glory. So here all are kept in their measures of grace, light, faith and the Spirit of Christ, the heavenly and spiritual Man. So let none quench the Spirit, nor its motions, nor grieve it, nor err from it, but be led by it, which keeps every one in their tents; which Holy Spirit of God giveth them an understanding, how to serve and worship, and please the holy pure God, their Maker and Creator in Christ Jesus, and how to wait, and how to speak, and so to answer the Spirit of God in his people; in which Holy Spirit is the holy unity and fellowship. And the Holy Spirit teacheth the holy, gentle, meek and quiet lowly mind to answer the seed, that Christ hath sown upon all grounds; and to answer the light, and grace and Spirit, and the gospel in every creature, though they are gone from the Spirit, grace, light and gospel in the heart; so that by holy walking all may come to do it, as well as by holy preaching, that so God in all things may be glorified by you, and that ye may bring forth fruits to his praise. Amen.'

G. F.

Swarthmore, the 30th of the
10th month, 1679.

About the latter end of this year I was moved of the Lord to travel up into the south again. Wherefore after I had taken my leave of my wife and the family, and of the neighbouring friends, I set forward on my journey in the beginning of the first month, 1679, and passing through some parts of Westmoreland and Lancashire, I visited friends at several meetings, and so came into Yorkshire. Divers large and weighty meetings I had in Yorkshire before I came to York city; and when I came there it was the assize-time: and there being many friends in prison for truth's sake, I put friends, that were at liberty, upon drawing up the sufferings of the friends that were in prison, that they might be laid before the judges; and I assisted them therein. There were then in York many friends from several parts of the county, for the quarterly-meeting of friends was at that time; so that I had a brave opportunity among friends, and many weighty and serviceable things did the Lord open through me to the meeting, relating to both the inward state of man, how man by faith in Christ comes to be grafted into him, and made a member of his

spiritual body ; and also the outward state of the church, how each member ought to walk and act, according to its place in the body. I spent several days in York amongst friends, having divers meetings amongst them ; and all was peaceable and well. I went also to the castle, to visit the friends that were prisoners there, with whom I spent some time, encouraging them and strengthening them in their testimony.

Then leaving York, I travelled on southward through Yorkshire, having meetings in many places amongst friends, till I came to Barton in Lincolnshire ; where on the first-day of the week I had a large and precious meeting. Then turning into Nottinghamshire, I travelled among friends through a good part of that county, in which I had several good meetings ; and then passed into Derbyshire, and through Leicestershire, and so into Warwickshire, having meetings all along as I went, till I came to Warwick ; there William Dewsbury came to me, and several other friends, and we had a little meeting in that town. Then passing through Southam and Radway (at each of which places I had a very good meeting) I came to Nathaniel Ball's of North Newton in Oxfordshire, and so went to Banbury to a monthly meeting there. And after I had visited friends at their meetings in the bordering parts both of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Northamptonshire, I passed to Richard Baker's of Biddlesden in Buckinghamshire ; and the next day (being the first-day of the week) I had a very large meeting in Biddlesden, at an old abbey-house, which a friend rented and dwelt in ; many friends and people came to this meeting out of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, and the parts adjacent, and of good service it was. After this meeting I visited friends in those parts, having meetings at Lillingstone, Lovel and Bugbrook ; and then going to Stony Stratford, I went from thence into some parts of Bedfordshire, till I came to Edward Chester's of Dunstable. From whence passing on by Market-street, I had a meeting at Alban's, and so calling on friends at Mimms and Barnet, I came to the widow Hayly's, at Guttershedge in Hendon in Middlesex, on a seventh-day night, and had a very large and good meeting there the day following.

I passed from thence to London on the third-day following, and went directly to the Peel-meeting at John Elson's ; and next morning to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was very large and quiet ; and friends rejoiced in the Lord to see me. The yearly-meeting was in the week following, to which many friends came up out of most parts

of the nation; and a blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together; wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all. After the yearly-meeting was over, and the friends, that came out of the counties to it, for the most part returned homewards, I continued about a month or five weeks longer in and about London, labouring in the work of the Lord both in meetings and out: for besides the public testimony which the Lord gave me to bear both to friends and to the world in meetings, I had much service lay upon me, with respect to friends' sufferings, in seeking to get ease and liberty for them in this and other nations. And much pains and time I spent, while I was now in London, in writing letters to friends in divers parts of England, and in Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several other parts of America.

After I had spent about six weeks time in the service of truth in and about London, I was moved of the Lord to go visit friends in some parts of Surrey and Sussex. I went down to Kingston by water, and tarried there certain days; for while I was there, the Lord laid it upon me to write to both the great Turk, and the king of Algiers severally, to warn them both, and the people under them, to turn from their wickedness, and fear the Lord and do justly; lest the judgments of God came upon them, and destroyed them without remedy. But to the Algerines I writ more particularly, concerning the cruelty they exercised towards friends and others, whom they held captives in Algiers. Now when I had finished that service, and visited friends in their meetings at Kingston, I went on further into the country, and had meetings amongst friends in many places; as at Worplesdon, Guildford, Esher, Capel, Patchgate, Worminghurst, Bletchingley, Horsham, Ifield, Ryegate, Gatton, &c. and so came back to Kingston again; and from thence to Hammersmith. And having spent some days in the service of truth amongst friends at Hammersmith, Battersea, Wandsworth and thereabouts, I crossed over by Kensington to Hendon, where I had a very good meeting on the first-day of the week. And (having spent about two months time in this journey) went from thence to London.

When I had been about ten days in London, I was drawn forth again to visit friends in the country; and went down to Edmonton to Christopher Taylor's, who kept a school in his house for the educating of friends' children. I had some service here amongst the youths; and then went on towards Hertford, visiting several friends in the way. At Hertford I met with John Story and some others of his

party; but the testimony of truth went over them, and kept them down, so that the meeting was quiet. It was on a first-day of the week; and the next day being the men's and women's meeting for business, I visited them also, and the rather, because some in that place had let in a disesteem of them. Wherefore I was moved to open the service of those meetings, and the usefulness and benefit thereof to the church of Christ, as the Lord opened the thing in me, and it was of good service to friends. I had a meeting also with some of them there, that were gone into strife and contention, to shew them wherein they were wrong; and having cleared myself of them, I left them to the Lord. Then, after I had had another public meeting in the town, I returned towards London by Waltham Abbey, where I had a public meeting on the first-day following; and another with friends in the evening. Next day I went to Christopher Taylor's at Edmonton, and staid there a day or two, having some things upon me to write, which were for the service of truth. When I had finished that service, I went to London by Shacklewell, where was a school kept by friends, for the breeding up young maidens that were friends' daughters.

I abode at London most part of this winter, having much service for the Lord there, both in meetings and out: for as it was a time of great sufferings upon friends, I was drawn forth in spirit to visit friends' meetings more frequently; to encourage and strengthen them both by exhortation and example. The parliament also was sitting, and friends were diligent to wait upon them, to lay their grievances before them; of which we received accounts almost every day, of the sad sufferings friends underwent in many parts of the nation. In this service of seeking relief for my suffering brethren I spent much time; together with other friends, who were freely given up to that service, attending at the parliament-house day by day for many days together, and watching all opportunities to speak with such members of either house, as would hear our just complaints. And indeed, some of the members of each house were very courteous to us, and appeared willing to help us if they could: but the parliament being then earnest in examining the popish plot, and contriving ways to discover such as were popishly affected, our adversaries took advantages against us (because they knew we could not swear nor fight) to expose us to those penalties that were made against papists; though they knew in their consciences that we were no papists, and had had experience of us, that we were no plotters. Wherefore, to

clear our innocency in those cases, and to stop the mouths of our adversaries, I drew up a short paper, to be delivered to the parliament, which was as followeth :

‘ It is our principle and testimony, to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king, or any of his subjects; for we have the Spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save men’s lives, and not to destroy them; and we would have the king and all his subjects to be safe. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters (which shall come to our knowledge) that would destroy the king or his subjects: this we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we desire you to relieve us, and free us from those sufferings; and that ye will not put upon us to do those things, which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing; for if you do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds stronger, instead of relieving us.’

G. F.

About this time I received two very envious books, written against truth and friends: one of them by a doctor (so called) of Bremen in Germany, the other by a priest of Dantzic in Poland. They were both full of gross falsehoods, and had in them many reproachful slanders. I found it upon me to answer them both; and that I might not be over-much interrupted therein by other business and company, I got out of London for a little while, and went down to Kingston-upon-Thames, where I writ an answer to each of them; and also an answer to some other scandalous papers, which had been printed and scattered about to misrepresent friends by.

While I was there I writ also the following paper, to persuade the magistrates to moderation towards dissenters, and take off their edge to persecution. And because it should have its full service, I directed it—

To all the Rulers, Magistrates, and them that are in authority, and law-makers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the highest to the lowest; and to all other magistrates every where, in that which is called Christendom; desiring their health, and peace, and tranquillity, and life,

and salvation in Christ Jesus, the Lord of Glory, and Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and all power in heaven and in earth is given to him; who will reward every man according to his words and works.

‘ All you bearing the name of Christian magistrates, my desire is, that you may all be found in Christ; and not only have the name, but be made partakers of his divine nature; that ye may be not only sayers of the word, but doers of the word; not only professors of Christ, and talkers of Christ, but let Christ rule in your hearts by faith, and be walkers in Christ. For as Christ’s great apostle saith, “As every one hath received the Lord Jesus Christ, so let him walk in him; for in him there is peace.” And if all that do profess Christ, did walk in Christ, they would all walk in peace, and be in unity; for the apostle exhorted the Christians in his day to keep the unity of the Spirit; which is the bond of peace, yea, of Christ the King of king’s peace. And all Christians, who have the scriptures, and are not in this spirit of Christ, they are not in unity one with another; and so have broken this bond of peace, which should knit and unite them together. And likewise all that do profess the truth of Christ, should live in it, for it is peaceable; and the gospel is the gospel of peace: which, if all Christians that do profess it, lived in, they would be at peace one with another, and in the glorious fellowship of the gospel. And also, if all Christians kept in the fear of God, which is the beginning of the pure, heavenly, peaceable, and gentle wisdom which is easy to be entreated (above that wisdom, which is earthly, sensual, devilish, and destroying) then there would be no difference and destroying about matters of religion.

‘ I do declare the mighty day of the Lord is come and coming; and the Lord God is come to teach his people himself by his Son (Hebr. i.) whose Son, Christ Jesus, bruises the serpent’s head, that false teacher, that led Adam and Eve from God their teacher. So God will teach his people by his Son, who was the teacher of Adam and Eve in paradise, before they fell and disobeyed the Lord, and forsook him, and followed the serpent; whose head Christ does bruise, and renews man and woman up again into the image of God, which Adam and Eve were in before they fell: glory and honour be to God through Jesus Christ, who hath called us by his Son into his glorious image, to serve and worship him in his spirit and truth; which

holy spirit and truth the devil is out of, and cannot come into it.

‘ And now, I desire all Christian magistrates to take heed of persecuting any, though they differ from you in matters of faith, worship, and religion. For Christ saith, Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest; and he forbad such as would be plucking up tares: the reason was, lest they should pluck up the wheat also; for that, Christ said, should be his angels’ work, to separate the tares from the wheat. Moreover, Christ said, they should go into everlasting punishment that did not visit him in prison in his members: then what will become of them that cast him into prison, where he is made manifest in his members! Oh, lay these things to heart! A day of judgment will come, vengeance and recompense upon every one according to their works.

‘ And Christ said to his disciples, who would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume them that would not receive him; He turned him about and rebuked them, and told them, they did not know what spirit they were of; for he came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.

‘ And therefore let all the magistrates and the priests in that which is called Christendom, consider who have destroyed mens’ and womens’ lives since the apostles’ days, because they could not receive their religions, ways, and worships, (or conform to them) which they have made and set up; have they known what spirit they have been of? Are they not all reprov’d by, and come under the judgment of Christ? Therefore let all persecution be laid away concerning religion, and let love bear the sway, to overcome evil and enemies; and let patience oversway passion in all such doings: that all may retain the heavenly reason, and the pure understanding, that your moderation in true Christianity may be known to all men. For have you not the Turks, Jews, Tartars, Indians, and atheists’ eyes upon you, and upon Christendom? And therefore be in unity, and let not the name of God and Christ be blasphemed amongst them by means of any that bear the name of Christians: so that God may be glorified by all and in all, through Jesus Christ, who is over all, who calls all to peace, who is blessed for ever.

‘ And now, I would have you to be as noble as the Bereans, and search the scriptures of Christ and the apostles, wherever he or they did give any command to imprison, banish, persecute, or put to death, any, that would

not receive or conform to them, or that were contrary-minded to them in religion, or differed from them in matters of worship?

‘ Again, I desire all Christian magistrates to search both scriptures and chronicles, and see what was the end of all persecutors, and what judgments came upon them. What came to Cain, who was the first persecutor for matters of faith and sacrifice? Did not he become a runnagade, a vagabond, and a fugitive in the earth? What became of the old world, that grieved God and Noah, a preacher of righteousness? What became of Sodom, that vexed just Lot? What became of Pharaoh, that persecuted God’s people in Egypt? (though the more he persecuted them, the more they grew.) What became of Ahab and Jezebel, that persecuted the Lord’s prophets? And what became of Haman, that would have destroyed the Jews? What became of the Jews and Jerusalem, that persecuted Christ and the apostles? What was the end of all these? Are they not become vagabonds in the earth, and driven away from their native country? Therefore I beseech you in the love and fear of God, be so noble as to search both scripture and history, and let not your divine understanding be clouded. What will become of the beast and whore, spoken of in the Revelations, with their false prophets, that have drunk the blood of the saints, martyrs, and prophets of Jesus? Must they not all go with the devil (who is a murderer, destroyer, an enemy, and adversary of mankind) into the lake of fire, that burns with brimstone? And ye may be sure, that spirit that stirs you up to persecution, let it be in whomsoever it will, is not of Christ and of his lamb-like nature; who takes away the sins of the world, not the lives of men.

‘ Paul was a persecutor and a haler to prison, before he was converted to Christianity; but never after. And therefore, are not all in Saul’s nature (let them be of what name or profession soever they be) that are persecutors, and unconverted into Paul’s life of Christianity? He said, the life that he did live, after he was converted, was by the faith in the Son of God: and that he lived, yet not he, but Christ lived in him, who came to save mens’ lives, and not to destroy them; which life should be the life of all Christians now, which Paul in his converted state lived in. And the apostle saith, “ The law is good, if a man use it lawfully; knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless, and for the ungodly, and sinners, and for unholy and prophane, and for murderers of fathers and mothers, and for manslayers, for

whoremongers, and for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, liars, and perjured persons," 1. Tim. i. So the law in its place, is good against such. Again the apostle says, "The law was added, because of transgression," Gal. iii. 19. Now here all magistrates may see what the law in its place is good against; and what it was made for and against; and what evils, the apostle says it takes hold upon: He does not say the law should be laid upon men that differed from them in their religion and judgment, nor upon the righteous men. And so you may see in what condition the law is good, and what it was made against; not against righteous men, against whom they have nothing in their lives and conversations, only because they differ from them in matters of religion; and let manslaughterers, whoremongers, perjured persons, ungodly, prophane persons, liars, &c. go unpunished: such do not use, nor execute the law lawfully, as the apostle says, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully." Therefore it ought to be used lawfully; which law the apostle says, "is for the punishment of the evil-doers, and a praise for them that do well:" as may be seen, Rom. xiii. And so, as the apostle said, "We do not break the law, nor make it void; but we establish the law," Rom. iii. 31.'

This is from him who desires the eternal good and salvation of you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the 4th of
the first month, 1680—1.

After I had finished these services there, I returned to London, where I staid about a month, labouring amongst friends in the work of the Lord, both in public meetings for worship, and in the meetings relating to the outward affairs of the church. Then feeling my spirit drawn to visit friends about Enfield-side, I went down to Waltham-abbey, where I had a very precious meeting; and another at Flamstead-heath (not far from thence.) And having spent some time amongst friends there and thereabouts, and had divers good meetings at Edmonton, Enfield, Winchmore-hill, and other places thereaways, I came back to London a little before the yearly meeting, which was in the third month, 1681; it was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed.

Some time after the yearly meeting was over, it came upon me to write the following epistle, which I directed—

To the Quarterly Mens' and Womens' Meetings that are gathered in the name and power of Jesus.

‘ Christ, the second Adam, who is both head and husband of his church, and Redeemer, and Purchaser, and Saviour, and Sanctifier, and Reconciler of his sons and daughters (his church) to God, I say, his presence (to wit, Christ’s) feel among you, to exercise his prophetic office, in opening of you with his light, grace, truth, power, and spirit; and to exercise his office, as he is a bishop, to oversee you with his light, grace, power, and spirit, that ye do not go astray from God. And as Christ is a shepherd, feel, see, and hear him exercising that office, who has laid down his life for his sheep, and is feeding them in his living pastures of life, and makes them to drink of his living eternal springs. And let him rule and govern in your hearts, as he is King, that his heavenly and spiritual government all may live under, as true subjects of his righteous peaceable kingdom, which stands in righteousness, and power, and joy, in the Holy Ghost, over satan and his power, and the unclean, unholy ghost, and all unrighteousness. So all ye subjects to Christ’s kingdom of peace, if ye want wisdom, or knowledge, or life, or salvation, Christ is the treasure; feel him the treasure among you. And every one among you, as ye have received Christ, walk in him, in whom ye have all peace; who bruises the head of the serpent, that is the author of all strife, distraction, and confusion: yea, you have peace with God, and one with another, though the trouble be from the world and the world’s spirit. And therefore, my dear friends, brethren and sisters, love one another with the love that is of God, shed in your hearts; that ye may bear the marks of Christ’s disciples, and it may appear that Christ is in you, and ye in him; so that God Almighty may be glorified among you. And whatever ye do, let it be done in the name of Jesus, to the praise of God the Father, keeping in unity in the holy Spirit of God, which was before the unholy spirit was: which holy Spirit is your bond of peace, yea, the holy King of kings and Lord of Lords, his peace. And in this holy pure Spirit is your eternal unity and fellowship; in which spirit of truth ye do serve and worship the God of Truth, who is God over all, blessed for ever, amen. So the Lord guide you all with his word of patience, word of life, power, and wisdom, in all your actions, lives, conversations, and meetings, to God’s glory. My love to you all in the Lord Jesus

Christ, by whom all things were made, and who is over all, the first and the last.'

G. F.

London, the 9th of the
4th month, 1681.

About this time I had occasion to go to several of the judge's chambers upon a suit about tithes. For both I and my wife, and several other friends, were sued in Cartmel-Wapentake Court in Lancashire, for small tithes, and we had demurred to the jurisdiction of that court. Whereupon the plaintiff prosecuted us into the Exchequer Court at Westminster, where they run us up to a writ of rebellion, for not answering the bill upon oath; and got an order of court to the serjeant, to take me and my wife into custody. This was a little before the yearly meeting, at which time it was thought they would have taken me up; and according to outward appearance, it was likely indeed that he would; and very easy for him to have done it, I lodging at the same places where I used to lodge, and being very public in meetings. But the Lord's power was over them, and restrained them; so that they did not take me. Yet understanding that there was a warrant out against me, as soon as the yearly meeting was well over, I took William Mead with me, and went to several of the judge's chambers to speak with them about it; and to let them understand both the state of the case, and the ground and reason of our refusing to pay tithes. The first that I went to was judge Gregory, to whom I tendered mine and my wife's answer to the plaintiff's bill; in which was set forth, that my wife had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time there had been no tithe paid nor demanded: and an old man, who had long been a tithe gatherer, had made affidavit, that he never gathered tithe at Swarthmore-hall in judge Fell's time, nor since. There were many particulars in our answer, but it would not be accepted without an oath. I told the judge that both tithe and swearing among Christians came from the pope, and it was matter of conscience to us not to pay tithes nor to swear; for Christ bid his disciples, who had freely received, give freely; and he commanded them not to swear at all. The judge said, there was tithe paid in England before popery was: I asked him by what law or statute they were paid then; but he was silent. Then I told him, there were eight poor men brought up to London out of the north about two hundred miles for small tithes,

and one of them had no family but himself and his wife, and kept no living creature but a cat. I asked him also, whether they could take a man and his wife, and imprison them both for small tithes, and so destroy a family; and if they could, I desired to know by what law: he did not answer me, but only said that was an hard case. So when I found there was no help to be had there, we left him, and went to judge Mountague's chamber; and with him I had a great deal of discourse concerning tithes. Whereupon he sent for our adversary's attorney; and when he came I offered him our answer: he said, if we would pay the charges of the court, and be bound to stand trial, and abide the judgment of the court, we should not have the oath tendered to us. I told him that they had brought those charges upon us, by requiring us to put in our answer upon oath, which they knew before we could not do for conscience sake; and as we could not pay any tithe nor swear, so neither should we pay any of their charges: upon this he would not receive our answer. So we went from thence to judge Atkyns, his chamber, and he being busy, we gave our answers and our reasons against tithes and swearing to his clerk; but neither could we find any encouragement from him to expect redress there. Wherefore leaving him we went to one of the most noted counsellors, and shewed him the state of our case and our answers: he was very civil to us, and said this way of proceeding against us was somewhat like an inquisition. A few days after, those eight poor friends that were brought up so far out of the north, appeared before the judges, and the Lord was with them, and his power was over the court, so that the friends were not committed to the Fleet. Our cause was put off till the next term (called Michaelmas term) and then it was brought before the four judges again. Then William Mead told the judges that I had engaged myself never to meddle with my wife's estate: the judges could hardly believe that any man would do so: whereupon he shewed them the writing under my hand and seal, at which they wondered. Then two of the judges and some of the lawyers stood up, and pleaded for me, that I was not liable to the tithes: but the other two judges and divers other lawyers, pressed earnestly to have me sequestered; alledging that I was a public man. At length they prevailed with one of the other two judges to join with them; and then they granted a sequestration against me and my wife together. Thereupon, by advice of counsel, we moved for a limitation, which was granted, and that much defeated our adversary's design in suing

out the sequestration ; for this limited the plaintiff from taking no more than was proved. One of the judges, who was called baron Weston, was very bitter against me, and brake forth in a great rage against me in the open court ; but in a little time after he died.

After the yearly meeting was over, I tarried about a month in London, and then went into Sussex, to visit friends there ; amongst whom I had many large and very precious meetings in divers parts of that county. Yet I spent not much time now in Sussex, but returned pretty soon to London, whether I felt drawings in spirit ; and had very good service for the Lord there, both in public meetings and amongst friends. And when I had tarried some time in London, I went down to Edmonton ; and from thence into Buckinghamshire, where I visited friends at several meetings in the upper-side of that county : and then went by Henley to Reading, where I tarried several meetings. I went no farther westward at this time than to Ore, where I had a very large meeting ; after which, striking off through the edge of Oxfordshire, I had a large and very precious meeting at Warborow, in which the glory of the Lord shined over all ; many friends came to this meeting, some out of Berkshire, some out of Buckinghamshire, and some out of Hampshire. From thence I passed to Ilmore (which is in the vale of Buckinghamshire) where we had a glorious meeting ; and the day following I returned to Mary Penington's. From whence I visited the men's and women's monthly-meetings at Hunger-hill, and some other meetings thereabouts ; and then passed to Watford, where was a marriage of two friends, at which I was present ; a very large meeting we had on that occasion, and the Lord's power was over all. I went from Watford to Longford in Middlesex, visiting friends at Uxbridge in the way. At Longford we had a large meeting, it being on the first-day of the week, and the presence of the Lord was preciousely felt amongst us ; blessed be his name. I passed from Longford to Kingston, visiting friends as I went, at Staines and Sunbury. At Kingston I abode with friends two meetings, wherein we were sweetly refreshed together in the Lord. And passing on from thence towards London, I had a very precious meeting at Wandsworth : then crossing over to Hammersmith, I had a good meeting there, which was the larger by reason of a burial that was there that time ; and there being a pretty openness in the people on that occasion, I had a fine opportunity to open the way of truth amongst them.

After I was come to London, I was moved to write the

following paper, concerning that spirit which had led some, who professed truth, into strife and division, and to oppose the way and work of the Lord:

‘ Friends,

‘ You that do keep your habitations in the truth, that is over all, do see, that it is the same spirit that doth lead the backsliders and apostates now, from the spiritual fellowship and unity of God’s people, and the church of Christ, that led out Adam and Eve from God, and the Jews from God and his law, to rebel against his Spirit, and so to turn against God and his prophets. And this spirit was the same that was in the world, which was got into the Jews, when they were gone from the Spirit of God; and then they turned against God and his prophets, and against Christ and his apostles: and that spirit led them to be as bad as Pilate, or worse. The enmity or adversary was got within them against the truth, and them that walked in it, and the Spirit of the Lord; so that they killed and destroyed the just. And this was the spirit of the devil, the destroyer, who would seek not only to destroy the truth, but the order of it, and them that walk in it, when true Christianity was planted among the possessors of the light, grace and truth, and the gospel-holy faith and spirit; and they did enjoy Christ in their hearts. But when some did begin to err from the spirit and faith, and hate the light, and disobey the gospel, and to turn the grace of God into wantonness, and walk despitefully against the Spirit of Grace, and turn from the truth, and crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame; these were they, that let in the spirit of the world; who held the form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; which troubled the churches in the apostles’ days. And when the spirit of satan had got into such, they were more troublesome to the church than the open persecutors that were without: and these got into the assemblies to deceive the hearts of the simple, having the good words, and fair speeches, and sheep’s clothing. Paul, Peter, John, Jude, and James had much to do with such, and to keep them from troubling the church of Christ: for they are out of the light, power and spirit; and therefore the apostles of Christ did exhort the saints to keep to the word of life within, and to the anointing, and to the grace and truth, and Holy Spirit in their hearts. This foul spirit will profess all the scriptures in words: but by the Spirit of God, which is holy, that spirit is tried and its fruits. And so the apostates went from the power and Spirit of God, and turned against the prophets, and the

martyrs of Jesus, and became the whore, whose cup all nations drunk of. And the dragon with his tail threw down many of the stars, and would have devoured the woman with his flood; but the woman, the true church, was preserved; and the gates of hell cannot prevail against her; and then the dragon made war with her seed. So the dragon, and the whore, and beast, and false prophets, all made war against the Lamb and the saints; but the Lamb and the saints will overcome them all, and will have the victory. And now the everlasting gospel is preached again to all nations, tongues and peoples; and many are gathered into the gospel, the power of God, and are turned to the light, which is the life in Christ, and are grafted into him, and are come to walk in the order of the new covenant of light and life, in the gospel of peace and salvation. The same spirit that opposed the apostles and the churches in their days, opposes now; yea, it is the same that opposed Christ, and disdained him, that disdaineth God's servants now; and the same, that did oppose the prophets, and rebelled against Moses, opposes and rebels against God's servants and people now. And it is the same dark, blind and disobedient, faithless, wilful, jealous spirit, that doth persecute some with the hands, and others with the tongue. And it is the same spirit of enmity, the adversary and destroyer, that tempted Adam and Eve to disobey God, and did deceive them; which deceived the Jews and tempted them, and deceived all those that went from the church in the apostles' days. And it is the same spirit that is now going about sometimes like a roaring lion, sometimes like a twisting serpent to tempt, and to deceive, and to devour; having the fair speeches, and good words, and sheep's clothing in a form of godliness, and in pretence of the light and liberty, but denies the power thereof, and inwardly are ravening wolves; and if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. But the elect are in the covenant of light and life, and in the power of God over them, and in Christ, who will grind them to pieces; and will slay all his enemies with his spiritual sword, who will not have him to rule over or in them. In Christ all his people have rest and peace, who is their sanctuary over all storms and tempests. And in Christ, the sanctuary, no deceiver nor destroyer can come; for he is a place of sweet rest and safety. Hallelujah, praise the Lord for his sanctuary. Amen.

G. F.

Sufferings continuing still hard upon friends at London, I found my service lay mostly here: wherefore I went

but a little out of town, and not far; being frequent at the most public meetings, to encourage friends both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them. And at other times I went about from house to house, visiting those friends that had their goods taken away for their testimony to truth. And because the wicked informers were grown very audacious, by reason that they had too much countenance and encouragement from some justices, who, trusting wholly to their information, proceeded against friends without hearing them: whereby many friends were made to suffer, not only contrary to right, but even contrary to law also. I advised with some friends about it; and we drew up a paper, which was afterwards delivered to most of the magistrates in and about the city; which was as followeth:

‘Whereas some informers have obtained warrants of some justices of peace, and have convicted many of us without hearing us, or once summoning us to appear before them; by which proceedings many have had their goods seized and taken away, being generally fined ten pounds a piece for an unknown speaker: and some of those persons so fined, have not been that day at the meetings they were fined for, and the speaker notwithstanding hath himself been fined for the same meeting, the same day the others were fined for the unknown speaker. By which the justices may see the wickedness of these informers, by whose false oaths we have been convicted for an unknown preacher, when the preacher hath been both known and fined. And also in their swearing such persons to have been at such a meeting such a day, when indeed they, whom they have so sworn against, have not been at that meeting that day. By which proceedings several families of the king’s peaceable subjects are like to be ruined, if there be not a speedy stop put thereunto. Therefore we do both hope and desire, that you, who are the king’s justices, for the time to come, when any informers shall come to any of you with an information against any of us, will summon such as are accused to appear before you, and hear us and our accusers face to face; that so none for the time to come may suffer for that they are not guilty of. For Pilate the governor heard Christ and his accusers face to face before he condemned him, John xix. And the council and chief priests heard Stephen and his accusers, with the witnesses that were brought against him, face to face, before they condemned him, Acts vii. The Roman captain heard Paul and his accusers face to face, Acts xxiii. And Felix the

governor heard Paul, and Ananias the high-priest, and the elders that accused Paul, face to face, Acts xxiv. And when the high-priests and chief of the Jews accused Paul to Festus, he heard Paul and his accusers, and them that witnessed against him, face to face, Acts xxv. Doth the law of God, or did the Roman law, or doth the law of the laud judge any man, before he and his accusers, and they that witness against him, be heard face to face?

This somewhat moderated the justices; and after this several friends that had been illegally prosecuted and fined, entered their appeals; upon trial whereof they were acquitted, and the informers cast: which was a great discouragement to the informers, and some relief to friends.

A little before the time came for the choosing new sheriffs for the city, they who stood to be chosen, desiring our friends to give their voices for them, I writ a few lines, tending to discover what spirit they were of, and how they stood affected to true liberty; and it was by way of inquiry, thus:

‘Do any here in London, who stand to be chosen sheriffs, own that Christ, that was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, to be the light of the world, that doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, who saith, “Believe in the light, that ye may become the children of the light?” And are any of you against persecuting people for their religion and worship of God in spirit and truth, as Christ commandeth? For Christ said, I am not of this world, nor my kingdom: and therefore he doth not uphold his spiritual worship and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. And Christ said, “Swear not at all;” and his apostle James saith the same: but will not you force us to swear, and so to break Christ’s and his apostle’s commands, in putting oaths to us? And Christ saith to his apostles, “Freely ye have received, freely give.” Will not you force us to give tithes and maintenance to such teachers as we know God hath not sent? Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his and his Son’s commands, if we give our voices freely for you? For we are unwilling to give our voices for such, as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods.’

But whatever they were that stood to be chosen, I observed there was a heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I writ a few lines to be spread amongst them, directed thus:

To the People who are choosing Sheriffs in London.

‘ People,

‘ All keep in the gentle, and peaceable wisdom of God, which is above all that that is earthly, sensual, and devilish: and live in that love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unseemly; which envieth not, but beareth and endureth all things: and in this love ye will seek the good and peace of all men, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats, and be not hot-headed; but be cool and gentle, that your Christian moderation may appear to all men: for the Lord is at hand, who beholds all men’s words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward every one according to their works: and what every man soweth, that shall he reap.’

Now had I some inclination to have gone into the country to a meeting, but hearing that there would be a bustle at our meetings, and feeling a great disquietness in people’s spirits in the city about choosing sheriffs, it was upon me to stay in the city, and go to the meeting in Gracechurch-street upon the first-day of the week. Wm. Penn went with me, and spake in the meeting; and while he was declaring the truth to the people, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down; but William Penn held ou, declaring truth in the power of God. After a while the constable drew back, and when William Penn had done, I stood up, and declared to the people the everlasting gospel, which was preached in the apostles’ days, and to Abraham; and which the church in the apostles’ days did receive, and came to be heirs of. This gospel, I declared, was sent from heaven by the Holy Ghost in the apostles’ days, and is so now; and was not of man, neither by man; but by the revelation of the Holy Ghost. And now this gospel is preached again (as John saw, and said it should be) to all nations, tongues, and peoples; and all people now are to hear Christ the prophet, in this his gospel of the new covenant. For as Moses said, “Like unto me will God raise up a prophet, and him shall ye hear in all things:” so, said I, this prophet, Christ, is come, and all the Jews in spirit, the true believing Christians in the light, who have the law of God written in their hearts, and put into their minds, are to hear Christ in his gospel, new testament, and new covenant, which is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, who bruises the serpent’s head (which is the head of ~~enmity~~) and makes free from the law of sin and death. And I shewed that all whom Christ quickens and makes alive, he

makes them to sit together in the heavenly places in himself. So that they do not wander up and down, like the fool's eye, in the corners of the earth; nor are their eyes abroad in the world, to sit down in the world's invented seats of religion; but they sit together in him, as the saints did in the apostles' days: and so Christ was and is their treasure of wisdom, life, knowledge, and salvation. Now as I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and bid me give over speaking, and come down: but I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, spake on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, that we were a peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit and in truth; and therefore (I told them) they needed not to come with their staves amongst us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people. Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them: and while I was speaking, the constables drew out towards the door; and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, both high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his holy spirit; that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and friends passed away; the constables being come in again, but without the soldiers: and indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many friends went with us; and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a friend went down and told them, that if they would have any thing with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us soon after, but without his staff; which he chose to do, that he might not be observed: for he said, the people told him he busied himself more than he needed. We desired to see his warrant; and therein we found, that the informer was one Hilton, a north-countryman, who was reputed to be a papist. The constable was asked whether he would arrest us by his warrant on that day; (it being the first-day of the week, which in their law was called the Lord's day) and he said he thought he could not. He told us also, that he had charged the informer to come along with him to the meeting, but he had run away from him. We shewed the constable that both he and we were clear; yet to free him from all fear of danger, we were free to go to the alderman that granted the warrant. Then a friend

that was present said, he would go with the constable to speak with the alderman; which they did, and came presently back again, the alderman being gone from home. We seeing the constable in a strait, and finding him to be a tender man, bid him set an hour to come to us again, or send for us, and we would come to him. So he appointed the fifth hour in the afternoon; but neither came, nor sent for us: and a friend meeting him afterwards in the evening, the constable told him he thought it would come to nothing, and therefore did not look after us. So the Lord's power was over all, to him be the glory!

On the fourth day following, it was upon me to go to Gracechurch-street meeting again; for I had heard that they would come to break up the meeting that day. The neighbours it seems were informed so, and a justice had granted a warrant for that purpose; and the constable told a friend, that Hilton the informer had been with him about it. The constable would have had the informer to have gone with him to the meeting, but the informer would not, but would have the constable to go without him: whether that put the constable by from coming, I know not, but he did not come. I was in a travail of spirit in the power of God, and was moved in it to go to the meeting; and the Lord's power did chain all down: and though they threatened to bring the red coats, yet none came, nor was there any disturbance; but a glorious, powerful meeting it was, and very peaceable. Glory and honour and praises be to the Lord over all for ever. Amen.

During the time I thus abode at London, as I had leisure between meetings, and from other public services, I writ divers books and papers, some of which were printed, and others were spread about in manuscript. Of these, one was directed 'To the bishops and others, that did stir up persecution; to shew them from the holy scriptures, that they did not walk therein according to the royal law, to love their neighbour as themselves, and to do to others as they would be done unto.' Another was, 'To all the several sorts of professed Christians, as well protestants as papists, whose religion and worship stand in outward observances and ceremonies; pressing them from those words of the apostle Paul to the Galatians, chap. v. ver. 2, 3, 4. ("Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, who-soever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from

grace,") to consider whether they, being gone back into legal observations and shadowy ceremonies (in upholding tithes, offerings, first-fruits, priests-garments, outward altars, temples, lamps, lights, &c. and in observing days, months, times, years, with many other things commanded by the law) were not gone into the same state, that the Galatians were running into; and so were fallen from grace, and become debtors to the whole law.' Another was, 'To direct and turn all people to the Spirit of God, that they might thereby receive a right understanding, and be able to distinguish between right and wrong, truth and error; that under pretence of punishing evil-doers, they might not themselves do evil in persecuting the righteous.' That paper being short, is here inserted :

'The Spirit of God, which he hath poured upon all, giveth an understanding to all that are led by it; and who do not quench the motions of it, it doth give them knowledge and understanding to distinguish good from evil, and light from darkness, Christ from antichrist, and the old testament or covenant from the new, and the old way from the new and living way; and the sheep and lambs from the goats and from the wolves; the worship of God, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago, from the dragon's and beast's worship; and all them that worship the works of men's hands, and the will-worshippers, from them that worship God in his spirit and in his truth, in which God's people do worship him; which worship is over all false worships and worshippers. And who believe in the light, which is the life in Christ, do become the children of light, and are the lambs of Jesus. And the lambs do follow the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; and they will not follow the hirelings, nor the strangers, to be led into strange ways and doctrines, and religions, and churches; for the lambs of Christ follow Christ, the Lamb of God, and do know his heavenly voice. And they do know also, that they, who are without Christ, are dogs and wolves, adulterers, idolaters, liars and unbelievers, who would devour the lambs; but they are in the hand of the Lord, which is his power, that is over all. And such do good in his power unto all; for they have the mind of Christ, who would have all to come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. And they that do good unto all, do hurt unto none; for that spirit that doth hurt unto any, is not of God; but that spirit which doth good unto all, and especially to the household of faith, is of God. Christ came not to destroy men's lives,

but to save them : and it is the devil that is the destroyer of men's lives about religion, and that blinds and corrupts men and women, and makes them deaf and blind to the things of God, and to halt out of God's way. They that obey the evil one and forsake the Lord, such the destroyer doth destroy : but Christ doth destroy that destroyer, and in Christ all have life.'

G. F.

I writ another paper also concerning meditation, delight, exercise and study ; shewing from the scriptures of truth, what the true Christians ought to meditate upon, and to exercise their minds in, and what they should take delight in, and what they should study to do. For in these things, not the profane and loose people only, but even the great professors of religion are very much mistaken ; taking delight in earthly, fading, perishing things, whereas they ought to meditate on heavenly things, and to delight in the law of God after the inward man, and exercise themselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God, and towards men, as the apostle Paul did.

And inasmuch as sufferings continued very sore and heavy upon friends not only in the city, but in most parts of the nation, I drew up a paper to be presented to the king ; setting forth our grievances therein, and desiring redress from him in those particular cases, which I understood were in his power. But not having relief from him, it came upon me to write an epistle to friends, to encourage them in their sufferings, that they might bear with patience the many exercises that were brought upon them, both from the outward magistrates, and by false brethren and apostates, whose wicked books and filthy slanders did grieve the upright-hearted. This epistle I writ at Dalston, whither I went to visit an ancient friend that lay sick :

' Friends and brethren in Christ Jesus, whom the Lord hath called and gathered into him, in him abide ; for without him (to wit, Christ) ye can do nothing, and through him ye can do all things, who is your strength and support in all your trials, temptations, imprisonments and sufferings, who for Christ's sake are accounted as sheep for the slaughter : and in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Christ who hath loved us. And therefore, friends, though ye do suffer by the outward powers, ye know that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles suffered by the unconverted. And though ye do suffer by false brethren, and false apostates for a time, and by their filthy

books and tongues ; whose tongues indeed are become no slander, let them speak, write or print what they will ; for the sober people even of the world hardly regard it. And it is well they have manifested themselves to the world, that their folly may proceed no farther ; though to the utmost of their power they have shewed their wicked intent, to stir up the magistrates, professors and profane against us, and to speak evil of the way of truth. But God's judgment will overtake them, and come upon them, as sure as they have come upon those that are gone before them. Let their pretence be never so high, mark their end ; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the grass on the top of the house. Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the seed is on the head of such, which will grind them to powder ; which seed bruises the serpent's head. Therefore in this seed, Christ, who is your sanctuary, rest, peace and quiet habitation, who is the first and last, and over all, in him walk ; for the Lord taketh pleasure in his people that are faithful, and that serve and worship him. And therefore let the saints be joyful in glory ; and the God of peace, the God of all grace, who hath called us into his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after that ye have suffered a while, make you perfect, establish, strengthen and settle you ; casting all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you. And, dearly beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you ; for it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing : and rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator ; for unto you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. So it is given, or is a gift from Christ to suffer for his name ; and therefore (as I said before) rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. And if ye be reproached, or evil spoken of for the name of Christ, happy are ye ; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you : on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. And therefore if any suffer as Christians, let them not be ashamed, but let them glorify God on this behalf. Though now for a season ye are in sufferings, and trials, and temptations, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than that of gold, which perishes, though it be tried with fire, may be found unto

praise, honour and glory, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation. Therefore mind your Keeper wherever ye are, or what sufferings soever ye be in; and mind the example of the apostle, how he suffered trouble as an evil-doer unto bonds. But the word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures for ever; and they who are in that, which is not everlasting, and doth not endure for ever, cannot bind the word. And the apostle said, I endure all things for the elects' sake, that they may also obtain the salvation, which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory (mark, with eternal glory.) And if we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with Christ, who abide faithful. Therefore strive not about words to no profit, but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness; so that ye may be vessels of honour, sanctified and meet for Christ your Master's use, and prepared unto every good work. Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience and meekness, and fight the good fight of faith with your heavenly weapons, which faith is victory (or gives victory) by which ye lay hold on eternal life, and have access unto God, who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them, who by patient continuing in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality; eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness; indignation and wrath; tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man, that doth evil; but glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good. Christ said to his disciples, "If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." And, "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." And John in his general epistle to the church saith, "Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren." And Christ in his prayer to his Father saith of his followers; "As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world; and the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one." And therefore all ye, that know God and Jesus Christ (whom to know is eternal life) and are partakers of his glory, keep the testimony of Jesus, and be valiant for the truth upon earth, that ye may be all settled upon Christ, the rock and foundation.

Dalston, the 3rd of the Eighth month, 1682.

I made but little stay at Dalston, but returned again to London, where I continued most part of the winter, labouring in the service of truth amongst friends; save that I was a little while at Kingston, in the tenth month this year; where I writ a book, setting forth the state of the birth temporal, and the birth spiritual: and the duty and state of a child, youth, young men, aged men, and fathers in the truth, &c. But I staid not long at Kingston neither, for the heat of persecution still continuing, I felt my service to be most at London; where our meetings were for the most part disturbed and broken up, or friends were forced to meet without doors, being kept out of their meeting houses by the officers. Yet sometimes, beyond expectation, we got a quiet and peaceable meeting in the houses. One time I was minded to have gone a mile or two out of town, to visit a friend that was not well; but hearing that the king had sent to the mayor to put the laws in execution against dissenters, and that the magistrates thereupon intended to nail up the meeting-house doors, I had not freedom to go out of town, but was moved to go to the meeting in Gracechurch-street. And notwithstanding all the threats, a great meeting it was, and very quiet; and the glory of the Lord shone over all.

The same week I went to the meeting at the Peel in John's-street; and the sessions were holden the same day at Hicks's-hall. I went to the Peel in the morning; and William Mead being to appear at the sessions-house for not going to the steeple-house-worship, he came once or twice from Hicks's-hall to me at the Peel; which some ill-minded people observing, went and informed the justices at the bench that he was gone to a meeting at the Peel. Whereupon the justices sent a messenger, to see if there were a meeting; but this being in the forenoon, there was no meeting there then; and so the messenger, when he had looked about, went back and told them. Then others informed the justices that there would be a meeting there about three or four in the afternoon; whereupon they sent for the chief constable, and asked him why he suffered a meeting to be at the Peel, so nigh him. He told them, he did not know of any meeting there. They asked him, how he could but know it, and live so nigh to it? He said, he was never there in his life, and did not know that there was a meeting there. They would have persuaded him that he must needs know of it, but he standing stedfast in the denial of it, they said they should take order to have it looked after in the afternoon. But a multitude of business coming before them at the sessions, when dinner-time

came, they hastened to their dinner, without giving order. And when they came to the bench again after dinner, the Lord put it out of their minds, so that they sent no officer; and so the meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a blessed meeting we had, the Lord's presence being precious amongst us. Many friends had a concern upon their minds, when they saw me come into the meeting, lest I should have been taken; but I was freely given up to suffer, if it was the Lord's will, before I went to the meeting; and had nothing in my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory. And I do believe the Lord put it out of their minds, that they should not send to break up our meeting that day. Yet the first-day after, three or four justices (as I heard) came to the Peel, and put friends out of their meeting there, and kept them out; and inquired for William Mead, but he was not there.

That day I was moved to go to Gracechurch-street meeting; and it was expected that the officers would come to break up the meeting, or keep friends out; and many hundreds of people came to see what would be done to us. But the officers came not, and so we were in peace and quietness: and many of the people that came to look on, staid all the time; and a glorious, precious meeting we had; for the Lord's presence was plentifully amongst us, and his power came over all; glory to his name for ever, who is over all.

I had seen the mayor's printed speech for putting the laws in execution against dissenters: and it was much in my mind, that we should draw up a paper to send to the mayor and aldermen, to clear ourselves from being such, as those laws were made against; and to set forth our peaceable behaviour both towards the king and the government. Accordingly a paper was drawn up, and signed, and delivered to the mayor, and copies thereof to the aldermen, and to the bishop of London also; and they generally took it kindly, and were civil to the friends that delivered it.

About this time I was moved to write the few lines following to friends:

‘ Dear friends,

‘ Feel the power of God in you all, and over all, and by it let all your hearts be united to one another, and to the Lord God, who hath gathered you to himself by his power and spirit, to be a people to serve and worship him. So that you may all strive to excel one another in virtue, and in that love that doth bear all things, and doth edify the body of Christ, the body of the second Adam. For the

body of old Adam in the fall is full of malice, envy and vice. And therefore you, that are called out of old Adam in the fall, and have put on Christ, the second Adam, that never fell, walk in him, who is the treasure of life, wisdom, and knowledge, in whom ye have peace with God, who is the first and last, the beginning and the ending. So let all be gathered up to God, into him who reconcileth all things in one, both things in heaven and things in the earth; who is the faithful and true witness both in the male and female; and in him sit down, who is above the subtle foxes in the holes, and the fowls of the air in their nests; I say, sit down in Christ, who hath no place among them to lay his head; he is your rest. So in him is my love to you all.'

G. F.

London, the 20th of the Eleventh
month, 1682.

It was not long after this that I received an account by letter from some friends, that were prisoners in Denbeigh, in Wales; by which I understood, that many friends there were under great sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. In the tender sense whereof I was moved in the love of God to visit them with a few lines, as a word of consolation to them in their sufferings, and of exhortation, to stand fast in the testimony committed to them. And that which I writ was thus :

'Dear suffering lambs for the name and command of Jesus; be valiant for his truth, and faithful, and ye will feel the presence of Christ with you. And look at him, who suffered for you, and hath bought you, and will feed you; who saith, Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world; who destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. I say, look at Christ, who is your sanctuary; in whom ye have rest and peace. To you it is given not only to believe, but to suffer for his name's sake. And they that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution by the ungodly professors of Christ Jesus, who live out of him. And therefore be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and look above that spirit that makes you suffer, up to Christ, who was before it was, and will be when it is gone. Consider all the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, who suffered, and were persecuted; but they never persecuted them as true men, but as deceivers, and yet true. And Christ is the same to-day as he was yesterday; a rock and foundation for your age and generation,

for you to build upon. I have written concerning you (after I heard your letter) to friends in Cheshire to visit you, understanding that you belong to their quarterly meeting; and therefore I desire that some friends of your county would go, and lay your suffering condition before the monthly or quarterly meeting in Cheshire. I have written likewise to Richard Davis, that some of that side may go and visit you, and see how your condition is. So my love is to you in the Lord, who is your alone support.'

G. F.

London, the 27th of the
11th month, 1682.

Now because the magistrates were many of them unwilling to have fines laid upon meeting-houses, they kept friends out in many places, setting officers and guards of soldiers at the doors and passages; and yet sometimes friends were fined for speaking or praying, though it were abroad. One first-day it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house-meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city) I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages; but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in; they said they could not, nor durst not, for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it. I told them I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbad him, and said he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone; the constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long. When he had done, after a while I was moved to stand up and speak; and in my declaration, I said they need not come against us with swords and staves, for we were a peaceable people; and had nothing in our hearts but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. And we did not meet under pretence of religion to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections; but to worship God in spirit and in truth. And we had Christ to be our bishop and priest, and shepherd; and God us.

and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our teacher; so to Christ, their bishop and shepherd I did recommend them all. And after I had spoken what was upon me at that time, I sat down; and after a while I was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all friends; and the people, and the constable, and soldiers, put off their hats. And when the meeting was done, and friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.

After this I went up and down visiting friends at their houses, who had had their goods taken from them for worshipping God; and we took an account of what had been taken from them; and some friends met together about it, and drew up the case of the sufferings of our friends in writing, and gave it to the justices at their petty-sessions. Whereupon they made an order, that the officers should not sell the goods of friends which they had in their hands, but keep them until the next sessions: which gave some discouragement to the informers, and put a little stop to their proceedings.

The next first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy; and by that time the meeting was gathered the beadle came in, and after him came in the wild people, like a sea: but the Lord's power chained them all. The Spirit of the Lord went through and over all, and they were quiet, and we had a glorious, peaceable meeting; blessed be the Lord for his unspeakable goodness. This was in the twelfth month, 1682.

In the first month, 1683, I went to Kingston upon Thames; and it being then a time of persecution, as I went to the meeting, I met the chief constable, who had been at the meeting place, and had set watchmen there to keep us out; yet he was pretty civil, and the watchmen let friends have a couple of forms out, to sit upon in the highway: so friends met together there, and a very precious meeting we had; for the refreshing presence of the Lord was with us, in which we parted in peace.

Having visited and encouraged friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the constables with their watchmen kept a guard, to keep friends out of the house. So we met in the street; and when any friend spake, the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down, and take him into custody. After some other friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak; and I said, Heaven is God's throne, and

earth is his footstool; and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship, and serve the living God? While I spake, they were quiet: and after I had cleared myself of what was upon me to speak, we brake up our meeting in peace. This was on the sixth-day of the week.

On the first-day of the week following I was moved to go to the meeting at Gracechurch-street: and when I came there, I found a guard set at the entrance in Lombard-street, and another at the gate in Gracechurch-street, to keep friends out of the meeting-place: so that we were fain to meet abroad in the street. After some time I got a chair, and stood up in it, and spake largely to the people, opening the principles of truth to them, and declaring many weighty truths concerning magistracy, and concerning the Lord's prayer. There was, besides friends, a great multitude of people, and amongst them many professors; and all was very quiet; for the Lord's power was over all, and in the Lord's time we broke up our meeting, and departed in peace.

The next day I went to Guildford in Surry; and having visited friends there, I passed from thence to Worminghurst in Sussex, where I had a very blessed meeting among friends, and free from disturbance. While I was there, James Claypoole of London (who with his wife was there also) was suddenly taken ill with so violent a fit of the stone, that he could neither stand nor lie; but through the extremity of pain cried out like a woman in travail. When I heard it, I was much exercised in spirit for him; and went to him: and after I had spoken a few words to him, to turn his mind inward, I was moved to lay my hand upon him, and prayed the Lord to rebuke his infirmity. And as I laid my hand on him, the Lord's power went through him; and through faith in that power he had speedy ease, so that he quickly fell into a sleep. And when he awaked, the stone came from him like dirt; and he was so well, that the next day he rode with me five and twenty miles in a coach; though he used formerly (as he said) to lie sometimes two weeks, sometimes a month, with one of those fits of the stone. But the Lord was intreated for him, and by his power soon gave him ease at this time: blessed and praised be his holy name therefore.

Now after I had had some meetings in Sussex and Surry, and had visited friends thereaways, I returned to London by Kingston, where I had a meeting on the first-day of the second month, being the first-day of the week also. We were kept out of the meeting-house by a constable and watchmen (as before) and so were fain to meet in the high-

way. But it being the monthly meeting day, and many of the world's people being there, the meeting was pretty large, and very quiet; and the Lord's blessed presence was amongst us, blessed be his name for ever.

Being come to London, I went to the meeting at Wheeler-street near Spitalfields, which that day proved very large; for besides that there were more friends there that day, than usually, there came also many professors to the meeting that day; and a glorious, blessed meeting it was; for the Lord's power and truth were over all, and many deep and weighty things were opened to the people, to their great satisfaction.

I tarried now in and near about London, visiting friends' meetings, and labouring in the service of the gospel, until the Yearly Meeting came on, which began on the 28th of the third month this year. It was a time of great sufferings, and much concerned I was, lest friends, that came up out of the countries on the churches service, should be taken and imprisoned at London. But the Lord was with us, and his power preserved us; and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon him, and be refreshed together in him, and to perform those services for his truth and people, for which we met. Now inasmuch as it was a time of great persecution, and we understood by our friends who came out of the several parts of the nation, that in most counties friends were under great sufferings either by imprisonments, or spoiling of goods, or both, a concern was weightily upon me, lest any friends that were sufferers, especially such as were traders and dealers in the world, should hazard the losing of other men's goods or estates through their sufferings. Wherefore, as the thing opened in me, I drew an epistle of caution to friends in that case, which I communicated to the brethren at the Yearly Meeting; and from thence it was sent forth among friends throughout the nation; a copy of which here followeth:

' Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is your only sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, spoiling of goods, and imprisonments! Let every ones eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him; so that none can touch an hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing ye have, except it be permitted or suffered in this day, to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord, or in the outward things. And now, dear friends, take care, that all your offerings may be free, and of your own, that has cost you something; so that ye may not offer of that which is another man's, or

that which ye are entrusted withal (and not your own) or fatherless' or widows' estates; but all such things ye may settle and establish in their places. You may remember many years ago, in a time of great persecution, there were divers friends, who were traders, shop-keepers, and others, who had the concerns of widows and fatherless, and other people's estates in their hands: and when a great suffering, persecution, and spoiling of goods came upon friends, there was especial care taken, that all friends that did suffer, what they did offer up to the Lord in their sufferings, might be really their own, and not any others' estates or goods which they had in their hands, and were not really their own; so that they might not offer up another body's, but that which was really their own, which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. And afterwards several letters came out of the country to the meeting at London, from friends that had goods of the shop-keepers here at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who writ to their creditors whom they had their goods of, intreating them to take their goods again. And some friends came to London themselves, and treated with their creditors, letting them understand how their conditions were, that they lay liable to have all that they had taken from them; and told them they would not have any man to suffer by them: neither would they by suffering offer up any thing, but what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for. Upon which several took their goods back again, that they had sent down: and this wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many people, when they saw that there was such a righteous, just, and honest principle in friends, that would not make any to suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus, it should be really and truly their own, not other people's. And in this they owed nothing to any, but love. So in this every man and woman stands in the free offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or temporal, which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan said unto David, I give thee the threshing floor, &c. and the oxen for burnt-offerings, and the threshing instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat-offering; I give it all. But king David said unto Ornan, Nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price: for I will not take that which is thine, for the Lord, nor offer burnt-offerings without cost, 1 Chron. xxi. xxii. &c. So it should be his own; and so should it be every man's that offers. So you may see here that David would not accept of another man's gift for an offering to the Lord; he

would not offer up that which cost him nothing: but it should be really his own, Psalm cxii. 5. A good man will guide his affairs with discretion.'

'Let this be read in your monthly and quarterly mens' and womens' meetings.'

G. F.

London, the 2d of the Fourth month, 1683.

Some time after the yearly meeting I went down to Kingston-upon-Thames, to visit friends there; and while I was there it came upon me to write the following epistle to friends in general, as a salutation of love unto them, and to stir up the pure mind in them:

'Dear friends and brethren, who are turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God, who are the believers in the light, which is the life in Christ, and are become the children of the light and of the day, and are grafted into Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and so are gathered in the name of Jesus, in whom ye have salvation, and not in any other name under the whole heaven. For Christ Jesus saith, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Matth. xviii. 20. So here you being gathered in the name of Jesus, he is in the midst of you, a saviour, a mediator, a prophet, a shepherd, a bishop, a leader, a counsellor, the captain of your salvation, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works. Therefore brethren in Christ Jesus, exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin. For you are made partakers of Christ, if ye hold fast the beginning of your confidence stedfast to the end, Heb. iii. 14. Therefore hear Christ's voice, for he is in the midst of you a teacher. And take heed, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God, as there is in too many in this day of provocation and temptation: but while it is day hear his voice, and let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering (for he is faithful that hath promised, and that hath called you) not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; (mark) as the manner of some is, that did and do forsake the assembling of themselves together: but exhorting one another, and so much the more, as you see the day of light appearing. For if we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sins; but a certain, fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation,

which shall devour the adversaries, Heb. x. And therefore it is good not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, but exhort one another daily: for Christ is in the midst of his people a teacher and a prophet, who saith, "Learn of me;" who is the way, the truth, and the life. And we being many, are one body in Christ (who are gathered in his name) and every one members one of another. Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given us, whether they be prophecy, let us prophecy according to the proportion of faith; and let those that do minister, wait on their ministry; and those that be teachers, on their teaching; and he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that gives, let him do it with simplicity; and he that ruleth, with diligence; and he that sheweth mercy, he is to do it with cheerfulness. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good: be kindly affectioned one towards another, with brotherly love in honour preferring one another. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulations; be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good; and (if it be possible) as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men, Rom. xii. This is and was the practice of the church of Christ. And now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost. And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, and are able also to admonish one another, Rom. xv. 13, 14. Here the church of Christ, in which Christ was in the midst, a teacher and the head of the church, they were and are able through him to admonish one another. And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which peace of God ye are also called into one body (to wit, of Christ). And let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another, &c. Col. iii. And whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God and the Father by him. And above all things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And the apostle said to Timothy, "Be not thou ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me, his prisoner: but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel, according to the power of God, who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling; not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began." 2 Tim. i. 8, 9. So here it concerns every one, not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, who hath called them by his grace; and not to be ashamed of any of Christ's

prisoners, and afflicted ones for Christ's and his gospel's sake, who abolishes death, and brings life and immortality to light through his gospel: you that believe in the light, know it. And Peter saith in his general epistle to the church of Christ, As every man (mark, every man) hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God (so not of men :) if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God gives (so not of the ability of mens arts and sciences) that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, &c. For these gifts and grace come from Jesus into the hearts of the members of his church, whom he is in the midst of. And if any man suffer, as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God, &c. And every true Christian hath the presence of Christ (who hath all power in heaven and in earth given him) to support them with his power, light, and life. And Christ saith to his believers, Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in the synagogues, and you shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them and the gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour, what ye shall speak: for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of the Father that speaketh in you. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end shall be saved. The disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant above his lord: it is enough for the disciple, that he be as his Master, and the servant as his lord: for if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, what will they do to his servant. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, &c. A sparrow shall not fall to the ground without your heavenly Father, &c. The hairs of your head are all numbered; ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, which is in heaven. And whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, &c. Matt. x. And again Christ saith, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. Mark viii. 38. And Christ saith to his disciples, He that re-

ceiveth you receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me: he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward. Matt. x. 40, 41, 42. Here ye may see, how Christ encourages his disciples, and them that receive them. And John saith, Among the chief rulers of the Jews many believed in Christ; but because of the Pharisees, they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue, John xii. 42. Too many such believers are now a-days, who dare not confess Christ, lest they should lose the favour of men. But Christ encourages the faithful disciples, and told them they would put them out of their synagogues; yea, that the time should come, that whosoever killed them, would think they did God service: And these things (said he) will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me. But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them, John xvi. 2, 3, 4. Here ye may see what Christ told his disciples should come to pass to them. And Saul, before he was converted, did compel the Christians to blaspheme, and made havock of the church of Christ, Acts viii. and chap. xxii. and xxvi. And did not the beast (in the Revelations) compel both small and great to worship him and his image? And did not all worship it, but they who had their names written in the Lamb's book of life, before the foundation of the world? And did not Nebuchadnezzar set up an image sixty cubits high, and six cubits broad? And then did not he cause an herald to cry aloud, It is commanded that all people, and nations, and languages fall down, and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar hath set up: and whoso falleth not down, and worshipping, shall the same hour be cast into the midst of the fiery furnace? And were not Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, cast into the furnace? Dan. iii. But God delivered them. Therefore it is good to be faithful to God and his worship in spirit and truth. And the Jews had agreed, that if any man should confess Christ, he should be put out of their synagogue, John ix. 22. So it was for Christ's sake they were excommunicated out of their synagogues. But as it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, and a rock of offence; and who so believes on him, shall not be ashamed.

So Christ is a stumbling-stone, and a rock of offence to all the unbelievers in the light, which is the life in Christ, whether they be Jews, Christians, or Gentiles. The Jews did believe a Christ was to come, from the scriptures; and the Christians believe he is come, by the scriptures; but do not believe in the light (which is the life in Christ) as Christ commands, and so do not become the children of the light. Therefore ye that are believers in the light, and are become the children of the light, walk in Christ your way, life and salvation.'

G. F.

Kingston, the 5th month, 1683.

Before I left Kingston, something further opened in me, which I was moved to write, and send forth amongst friends, and it was as followeth:

' Dear friends,

' My love is to you all in the holy seed, that reigns over all. And my desire is, that every one, both male and female, may feel the seed of Christ in you, which is heir of the promise of life eternal; so that ye may all grow up in Christ Jesus your head, and be built upon him the rock and foundation that God hath laid, which stands sure over all rocks and foundations in the world: that ye may eat and drink of this spiritual rock, the spiritual water and food; so that ye may truly and inwardly say, that your rock and foundation, and bread of life, and water of life is from heaven, and your bread and water is sure; and that ye know his voice that feeds you, and that leads you into the pastures of life, which are always fresh and green. In this your affections are set on things that are above, and seeking that which comes down from above, (above that which is from below,) where Christ sits at the right hand of God making intercession for you; and is your Mediator, making peace betwixt God and you, and is your heavenly Bishop to oversee you, that ye keep in his light, life and power, that ye do not go astray from his heavenly fold and pasture, but he your Shepherd may feed you in it; who is your Prophet, to open to you the fulfilling of the promises and prophecies, himself being the substance; that ye may live in him, and he in you, yea, and reign in your hearts, and there to exercise his offices, his prophetic, and priestly, and kingly office, who is heavenly and spiritual. That ye may know the three, that bear witness in the earth, viz. the spirit, the water and the blood, which is the life of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin, and the water that

washes you and refreshes you; and the Spirit, that baptizes you, and circumcises you, and leads you into all truth; and that ye may come all to drink into one Spirit, and keep the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of the heavenly peace. So being led by the Spirit of God, ye are his sons and daughters, and by his Spirit will come to know the three that bear witness in heaven, viz. the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost. These are the three witnesses that are in heaven, that bear record of all things: for he is God in the heaven, and God in the earth. And therefore I desire, that ye may all feel his love shed in your hearts, and in it live in love (above the love of the world, which is enmity) and in that you will keep in the excellent way. For love edifies the body of Christ, and builds his church up, and keeps out of the enmity, for it is above it, and brings and keeps all in true humanity, and in the true divinity; and to be courteous and kind, and tender one towards another. And to shew forth the nature of Christ, and true Christianity in all your lives and conversations; so that the blessings of the Lord may rest upon you, as ye all live in the seed of the gospel, the seed of the kingdom of God, in which all nations are blessed; and in that ye will all have a care of God's glory. And there is the hill or mountain, where the light shines to the answering the witness of God in all; and the salt, that is a good savour to the witness of God in the hearts of all; and that savour and salt being kept in, it doth not come under the feet of men. So my love to you all in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given to be a sanctuary for all his people, who is from above and not of this world, in whom you all have life, peace, and salvation; and in him God Almighty keep and preserve you all to his glory. Amen. And as you all live in the peaceable truth of God, it keeps you under, and within, his protection; but they that make a profession of the scriptures of truth, and yet live out of the truth, in the spirit of strife, unquietness and discontent, in a contriving, plotting, ravenous, destroying spirit, which is of the devil, and not of God, that spirit is judged out of the truth, and to be of him, in whom there is no truth, whose portion is in the lake, and in the fire that burns.'

G. F.

Kingston, the 27th of the
Fifth month, 1683.

Having visited friends at and about Kingston, I returned to London; for it being a suffering time with friends there, I had not freedom to be long from the city. Being come

back, I went to the meeting at the Peel, which but a little before the justices and constable had broken up, and had carried themselves very roughly; but that day the meeting was in the house and quiet, and a glorious meeting it was, blessed be the Lord.

On the first-day following I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street. When I came there, I found three constables in the meeting-house, who kept friends out, so that we met in the court. After I had been some time in the meeting, I stood up and spake to the people, and continued speaking a pretty while. Then one of the constables came and took hold of my hand, and said I must come down. I desired him to be patient, and went on speaking to the people; but after a little time he plucked me down, and had me into the meeting-house. I asked them if they were not weary of this work; and one of them said indeed they were. They let me go into the widow Foster's house (which joined to the meeting-house) where I staid, being hot. When the meeting was ended (for one prayed after I was taken away) the constables asked some friends which of them would pass their words that I should appear, if they should be questioned about me; but the friends telling them they need not require that, for I was a man well known in the city, to be one that would neither fly nor shrink, they came not to me, but went their ways, and left me at liberty, and I heard no further of it. The same week I was at the meeting at the Savoy, which used to be kept out and disturbed; but that day it was within doors and peaceable, and a precious meeting it was. The first-day after, it was upon me to go to the meeting at Westminster, where used to be great disturbances; but there also the meeting was within doors that day, and it was very large. The Lord's power was over all there, and kept all quiet and still; for though there were many loose spirits there, yet they were bound down by the power and spirit of the Lord, that they could not get up to make disturbance.

About this time I was moved to write the following epistle:

‘ Friends and brethren,

‘ Who have received the peaceable truth, let the fruits of its peaceableness, and of your quiet spirit appear in all your meetings, and in all your words and actions; for he that inhabits eternity dwells with an humble heart, and he gives grace to the humble, and resisteth the proud. Heaven is his throne, and the earth ye walk upon is his

foot-stool; happy are ye, that see and know him, that is invisible. And now friends, let all things be done in your meetings, and otherways, in love, without strife or vain-glory. For love fulfils the law, and love overcomes and edifies the body of Christ, and builds it up; and there is neither self nor envy in love, neither is it puffed up; but abides and bears all things. So see, that this love of God have the sway in you all, and over you all. Christ saith, "Blessed are the poor in Spirit; for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they, that do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they, that are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." Now friends, here is a great deal in these words; and all must be in these states and conditions, if they have these blessings. And the children of God are peace-makers, and strive to make peace in the truth, and to live in peace with all men, if it be possible. So live in the peace and the good-will to all men; which good-will is both for their sanctification and salvation. And friends consider, the wisdom of God, which is from above, is pure, peaceable and gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. And now, dear friends, let this pure, peaceable, gentle wisdom, that is from above, that is easy to be intreated, and is full of mercy and good fruits, be exercised and practised in all the true churches of Christ, so that wisdom may be justified of her children. For the works of the flesh, or fleshly spirit, are hatred, variance, wrath, strife, envyings, drunkenness, revilings, adultery, fornication, lasciviousness, uncleanness, &c. and they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruits of the Spirit of God are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, &c. And so, dear friends and brethren, strive to exceed one another, and all people upon the earth, in humility, in meekness, in gentleness, in temperance, in love and in patience, in pureness and in mercy; and then

ye will shew forth the fruits of the Spirit of God, and of his heavenly wisdom that is from above; and in this, wisdom will be justified of her children, and ye will be the salt of the earth, and the light of the world set on an hill, that cannot be hid; and your moderation will appear to all men. And be ye just, and righteous, and faithful, and true in all your words, dealings and conversations, so that ye may answer the truth in all people; for Christ saith, his father is glorified by such as bring forth fruits, when men do see their good works; for he that doth righteousness, is accepted with God. And he that dwells in love, dwells in God; for love is his habitation; and let that be the habitation of every one that hath received the truth; for if it be not, such do not dwell in God, let them profess what they will. And therefore my desire is, that all you who have received Christ, the seed, which bruises the serpent's head, may walk in him, your sanctuary, life and salvation, your rest and peace. Amen.' G. F.

London, the 14th of the 6th month, 1683.

I continued yet at London, labouring in the work and service of the Lord both in meetings and out; sometimes visiting the friends that were in prison for the testimony of Jesus, encouraging them in their sufferings, and exhorting them to stand faithful and stedfast in the testimony, which the Lord had committed to them to bear: sometimes also visiting those that were sick and weak in body, or troubled in mind, helping to bear their spirits up from sinking under their infirmities. Sometimes our meetings were quiet and peaceable; sometimes they were disturbed and broken up by the officers. One first-day it was upon me to go to the meeting at the Savoy, and it was a large meeting, for many professors and sober people were there; and the Lord opened many precious weighty things in me to the people, which I declared amongst them, and directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, which the Lord had given them a measure of; that all by the Spirit might understand the scriptures, which were given forth from the Spirit of God. And that by the Spirit of God they might know God, and Christ, whom God hath sent; whom to know was eternal life. And that by the Spirit they might all come into Christ, and know him to be their sanctuary, who destroys the devil, the destroyer, and his works, and bruises the serpent's head. For Christ was a sanctuary to them, to whom he was a Saviour, whom he saved from the destroyer. And Christ did baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and did thoroughly purge his floor,

and burn up their chaff with unquenchable fire, that is, sin and corruption, which is got into man and woman by their transgression; but Christ gathereth his wheat into his garner. So all that are baptized with Christ's baptism, their wheat is in God's garner; and no spoiler can get into God's garner to meddle with the wheat there, though they may be permitted to meddle with the outward goods, &c. Now as I was speaking in the power of the Lord, and the people were greatly affected therewith, on a sudden the constables, with the rude people, came in like a sea; and one of the constables said to me, Come down; and he laid hands on me. I asked him, art thou a Christian? we are Christians. He had hold on my hand, and was very fierce to pluck me down, but I stood still, and spake a few words to the people; desiring of the Lord, that the blessings of God might rest upon them all. The constable still called upon me to come down, and at length plucked me down, and bid another man with a staff take me, and carry me to prison. That man had me to another officer's house, who was more civil; and after a while they brought in four friends more, whom they had taken. I was very weary and in a great sweat; and several friends hearing where I was, came to me in the constable's house; but I bid them all go their ways, lest the constables and informers should stop them. After a while the constables had us almost a mile to a justice, who was a fierce, passionate man; who, after he had asked me my name, and his clerk had taken it down in writing, upon the constable's informing him, that I preached in the meeting, said in an angry manner, Do not you know, that it is contrary to the king's laws to preach in such conventicles, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England? There was present one — Shad, (a wicked informer, who was said to have broken jail at Coventry, and to have been burnt in the hand at London,) who hearing the justice speak so to me, stepped up to him and told him that he had convicted them on the Act of the 22nd of king Charles the second. What! you convict them? said the justice; yes, said Shad, I have convicted them, and you must convict them too upon that Act. With that the justice was angry with him, and said, You teach me! what are you? I'll convict them of a riot. The informer hearing that, and seeing the justice angry, went away in a fret, and so he was disappointed of his purpose. I thought he would have sworn somebody against me, whereupon I said, Let no man swear against me, for it is my principle not to swear; and therefore I would not have any man swear against me. The

justice thereupon asked me, if I did not preach in the meeting; I told him, I did confess what God and Christ had done for my soul, and did praise God; and I thought I might have done that in the streets, and in all places, viz. praise God and confess Christ Jesus; and this I was not ashamed to confess. Neither was this contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England. The justice said, the laws were against such meetings, as were contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England. I said, I knew no such laws against our meetings; but if he did mean that Act that was made against such as did meet to plot and contrive, and raise insurrections against the king, we were no such people, but did abhor all such actions; and did bear true love and good-will to the king, and to all men upon the earth. The justice then asked me, if I had been in orders; I told him no. Then he took his law-books and searched for laws against us; bidding his clerk take the names of the rest the mean time: but when he could find no other law against us, the clerk swore the constable against us. Some of the friends bid the constable take heed what he swore, lest he were perjured; for he took them in the entry, and not in the meeting. Yet the constable, being an ill man, swore that they were in the meeting. However the justice said, seeing there was but one witness, he would discharge the rest; but he would send me to Newgate, and I might preach there, he said. I asked him, if it stood with his conscience to send me to Newgate for praising God, and for confessing Christ Jesus; he cried, conscience! conscience! but I felt my words touched his conscience. He bid the constable take me away, and he would make a mittimus to send me to prison when he had dined. I told him I desired his peace, and the good of his family, and that they might be kept in the fear of the Lord; so I passed away. And as we went the constable took some friends' word that I should come to his house the next morning by the eighth hour. Accordingly I did go with those friends; and then the constable told us, that he went to the justice for the mittimus after he had dined, and the justice bid him come again after the evening service, which he did; and then the justice told him he might let me go. So, said the constable, you are discharged. I blamed the constable for turning informer, and swearing against us; and he said he would do so no more. Next day the justice meeting with Gilbert Laty, asked him if he would pay twenty pounds for George Fox's fine; he said no. Then, said the justice, I am disappointed; for being but a lodger I cannot come by his

fine, and he having been brought before me, and being of ability himself, I cannot lay his fine on any other.

After I was discharged, I went up into the city: and the same week the sessions coming on, where many friends were concerned, some as prisoners, and some on trials of appeals upon the conventicle act, I went to a friend's house not far off, that I might be in readiness to assist those friends with counsel, or otherwise, as occasion should offer; and I found service in it. But as my spirit was concerned on behalf of friends, with respect to their outward sufferings by the persecutors without, so an exercise also came weightily upon me at this time, in the sense I had of the mischievous working of that adulterated spirit, which being gone out from the heavenly unity, and having drawn out some that professed truth into enmity and opposition against friends, endeavoured to trouble the church of Christ with their janglings and contention. And as a further discovery of the working of that seducing spirit, and a warning to all friends to beware of it, I was moved to write the following epistle, directed thus:

To all the elect, faithful, called and chosen of God, who are the flock and heritage of God, who have been acquainted with the dealings of the Lord, and have kept your habitations in his life, power, and truth, being built upon the holy and heavenly rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles; which foundation stands sure.

‘Many foundations have been laid since the apostles’ days, by such as have gone from Christ, the true and sure foundation; and their foundations have proved rotten, and come to nought; and they themselves have come to loss. And many, since the day of Christ, and the truth hath appeared in this nation, have come out, and have had some openings and sights, and come among us for a time; and then gone out from us again: who have been the comers and goers, like such as were in the apostles’ days. Such have had an outward profession of the truth, and such have gone from the true foundation, Christ Jesus, and so from the heavenly society and unity of the saints in light. And then they set up foundations of their own: and having a form of godliness, but out of the power thereof, out of the order thereof; such have turned to janglings and vain disputings. This sort of spirit you have been acquainted with, who have kept your habitations in Christ

Jesus, the first and the last. And you are not insensible of the scurrilous and filthy books of lies and defamations, which have been spread abroad in this nation, and beyond the seas, against the faithful: and it is very well that the Lord hath suffered them to publish their own shame in print, that truth's enemies may be discovered, that their fruits and spirits have appeared and manifested themselves both in print and otherwise. And I do believe, that the Lord will yet suffer this spirit, that it shall so publish forth its fruits, to its public shame and nakedness, to professor and prophane, and to all sober, moderate, and innocent people, that its shame and nakedness shall more fully appear. And though for a time it hath been hid and covered with the fig-leaves of an outward profession, and sometimes with fawning and flattering words (as at other times it hath discovered itself by rough, lying, and defaming words;) yet the Lord God will blast all such vain talkers, that do not walk in the order of life, truth, and the gospel. And therefore ye that are faithful, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free in his government: it is upon his shoulders; he bears it up; of the increase of it, and of its peace there is no end. For all the quarrellers against his order and government are without him, and without his heavenly, spiritual government and peace. And therefore, ye faithful ones, who have had the trial through many persecutions, imprisonments, spoilings of goods, you know that there is a crown of glory laid up for you: and you that suffer with Christ shall reign with him in his kingdom of glory; and ye that die with Christ shall live with Christ in the eternal life, in the world that hath no end. Who have gone through the sufferings without, and within, by false brethren, by comers and goers, that have caused the way of truth to be evil spoken of, and have been the persecutors of the faithful with their tongues (though they have not had power to do it with their hands.) And by printing and publishing their lying, defaming books against the faithful, they have stirred up the magistrates and priests, who were willing to get any occasion to speak evil of the right way, and precious truth of Christ, by which his people are made free: such had better they had never been born. But God hath brought them to light, and their fruits and ravenous spirit is seen, savoured, and known; who are become Judases, and sons of perdition, to betray Christ now within (where he is made manifest) to the priests, magistrates, and prophane, as Judas did betray Christ without to the priests and Pilate: though some of the magistrates and sober

people do see their envy and folly, and that they have more malice than matter against the faithful. But the Lord will consume this Judas, or son of perdition. The Lord will consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming. And so let all the faithful look unto the Lord. And let that wicked son of perdition know, though he may be got as high as Judas without (who was partaker of the ministry with the apostles), the Lord will consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming. That is his portion. So the brightness of the Lord will destroy him, and the spirit of his mouth will consume him. And when he is destroyed and consumed, there will not be a son of perdition to betray Christ in his people, and his people, that live and walk in Christ, who hath all power in heaven (mark, in heaven) and in earth given to him; and with his holy and glorious power he limits and orders: so that nothing shall be done against his people, but what is suffered for their trial and for their good, neither by apostates, persecutors with the tongue, Judases, sons of perdition to betray, or the outward powers to imprison, or spoil goods: all these are limited by Christ's power, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. And every one's faith is to stand in him and his power, and rejoice in his power, and see the increase of his righteous, holy, heavenly, spiritual, peaceable government, in which the glorious, holy order of life is lived and walked in, by all his sons and daughters: and in his spirit is the holy unity and bond of peace. Though ye be absent in the body or flesh one from another, yet all joying and rejoicing, being present in his spirit, and beholding in the same spirit your spiritual order, unity, and fellowship, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ Jesus, who is steadfast for ever, the first and the last, whose presence is among his people, and who is their head. Here is heavenly Sion known, and heavenly Jerusalem, and the innumerable company of angels (which are spirits) and the spirits of the just men made perfect. Here is the general assembly, or general meeting, and a general, heavenly, holy and spiritual joy and rejoicing, lauding and praising the Lord, the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, that lives for evermore. Amen.'

G. F.

London, the 14th of the
8th month, 1683.

'Read this in your assemblies amongst the faithful.'

I tarried yet a little while in London, visiting friends and meetings, and labouring in the work of the Lord there. And being on the first-day at the Bull and Mouth, where the meeting had long been kept out, but was that day in the house, peaceable and large, the people were so affected with the truth, and refreshed with the powerful presence of the Lord, that when the meeting was ended, they were loth to go away.

After some time, having several things upon me to write, I went to Kingston, that I might be free from interruptions. And when I came there, I understood the officers had been very rude at the meeting there, nipping and abusing friends, and had driven them out of the meeting place, and very abusive they continued to be for some time. Among other things that I writ whilst I was there, one was a little book (printed soon after) the title whereof was, *The Saints' heavenly and spiritual worship, unity, and communion, &c.* wherein is set forth, what the true gospel worship is, and in what the true unity and communion of the saints stands; with a discovery of those that were gone from this holy unity and communion, and were turned against the saints, that abode therein.

When I had finished the services for which I went thither, and had visited the friends there, I returned to London, and visited most of the meetings in and about the city. Afterwards I went to visit a friend in Essex, and returning by Dalston, I made some stay at the widow Stot's, and there I writ an epistle to friends, declaring the word of the Lord unto them; which epistle being then printed, may be read amongst my other printed books.

I came from Dalston to London, and the next day was sent for in haste to my son Rouse's at Kingston, whose daughter Margaret lay very sick, and had a desire to see me. I tarried now at Kingston about a week, and then returned to London, where I continued for the most part of the winter and the spring following, until the general meeting in the year 1684, (save that I went once as far as Enfield, to visit friends thereabouts): and in this time I ceased not to labour in the work of the Lord, being frequent at meetings, and visiting friends that were prisoners, or that were sick; and in writing books for the spreading of truth, and opening the understandings of people to receive it.

The yearly meeting was in the third month, and a blessed weighty meeting it was, wherein friends were sweetly refreshed together; for the Lord was with us, and opened his

heavenly treasures amongst us. And though it was a time of great difficulty and danger, by reason of informers and persecuting magistrates, yet the Lord was a defence and place of safety to his people.

Now had I drawings in spirit to go into Holland, to visit the seed of God in those provinces. And as soon as the yearly meeting was over, and most of the country friends gone out of town, I prepared for my journey. There went with me from London Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who also had drawings into that country. We took coach on the 31st of the third month, 1684, and got to Colchester that night. The next day, being the first-day of the week, we went to the meeting there; and though there was no notice given of my coming thither, yet our being there was presently spread over the town, and in several places in the country, at seven and ten miles distance, so that abundance of friends came in double-horsed, which made the meeting very large. I had a concern and travail in my mind, lest this great gathering should have stirred up the town, and been more than the magistrates could well bear; but it was very quiet and peaceable, and a glorious meeting we had, to the settling and establishing of friends both in town and country; for the Lord's power was over all; blessed be his name for ever. Truly the Lord's power and presence was beyond words; for I was but weak to go into a meeting, and my face (by reason of a cold I had taken) was sore; but God was strong, and manifested his strength in us and with us, and all was well: the Lord have the glory for evermore for his supporting power. After the meeting there came, I think, above an hundred friends of the town and country to see me at John Furley's, and very glad we were to see one another, and greatly refreshed we were together, being filled with the love and riches of the Lord, blessed be his name for ever.

We tarried at Colchester two days more; which we spent in visiting friends there, both at their meetings for business and at their houses. Then early in the morning of the fourth-day of the week, we took coach for Harwich, where we met with William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield; who also went over with us. About the eighth hour at night we went on board the packet-boat (of which one Richard Gray was master) but by reason of contrary winds it was the first hour in the morning before we sailed. We had a very good passage; and about the fifth hour in the afternoon next day we landed at the Brill in Holland; and there we staid that night. Early next morning we went to

Rotterdam, where we abode some days. The next day after we came to Rotterdam, one Wilbert Frouzen, a burgomaster, and kinsman of Aarent Sunneman's, hearing that I was there, invited me to his country house, having a desire to speak with me about some business, relating to Aarent Sunneman's daughters. I took George Watts with me, and a brother of Aarent Sunneman's had us thither. The burgomaster received us very kindly, and was very glad to see me; and entering into discourse about his kinsman's daughters, I found he was apprehensive, that their father being dead, and having left them considerable portions, they might be stolen, and married to their disadvantage. Wherefore I told him, that it was our principle and practice, that none should marry amongst us, unless they had a certificate of the consent of their relations or guardians: for it was our Christian care to watch over and look after all young people that came among us; especially those whose natural relations were dead. And as for his kinsman's daughters, we should take care that nothing should be offered to them, but what should be agreeable to truth and righteousness, and that they might be preserved in the fear of God, according to their father's mind. This seemed to give him great satisfaction. While I was with him there came many great people to me, and I exhorted them all to keep in the fear of God, and to mind his good spirit in them, to keep their minds to the Lord. After I had staid two or three hours, and had had discourse with him of several things, I took my leave of him, and he very friendly set me to Rotterdam in his chariot.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, we were at the meeting at Rotterdam, which was pretty large; and we declared to the meeting by an interpreter. The day following one alderman Gaul came to speak with me; and with him I and other friends had much discourse about religious matters; wherewith he seemed to be well satisfied, and was very tender. Several other persons of account intended to have come to speak with me that day, but being hindered by extraordinary business (as I understood) they came not.

We went next day from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, where we had a large and very precious meeting: and in the afternoon I was at another meeting with the friends there, about business.

There is a yearly meeting at Amsterdam for the friends of Holland and Germany, &c. which begun now on the eighth day of the fourth month, and ended on the twelfth. Here we had a fine opportunity of seeing friends from divers

parts, and of being refreshed together in the love of God. And after this meeting, before the friends that came out of the several provinces were gone, we had a meeting with some particular friends, about the places and countries into which we, who came out of England in the work of the ministry, were to travel; and to understand who among them were suitable persons to go along with us for interpreters. When this was concluded on, William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield took shipping for Friezland, and Jacob Claus their interpreter.

Alexander Parker and George Watts remained with me, and we tarried a few days longer at Amsterdam, where I had further service. And before I left Amsterdam, I went to visit one Galenus Abrahams, a teacher of chief note among the mennonites (or baptists). I had been with him when I was in Holland about seven years before; and William Penn and George Keith had disputes with him then; he was then very high and very shy, so that he would not let me touch him, nor look upon him (by his good will) but bid me keep my eyes off him, for, he said, they pierced him. But now he was very loving and tender, and confessed in some measure to truth; his wife also and daughter were tender and kind, and we parted from them very lovingly.

Soon after this, feeling our spirits drawn towards Friezland, Alexander Parker, George Watts and I, having John Claus of Amsterdam with us for our interpreter, took shipping at Amsterdam for Friezland, and having sailed some nine or ten leagues, we left the ship and travelled through Friezland, sometimes by boat, sometimes by waggon, visiting friends and tender people in the towns and villages where we came; and having commonly one, sometimes two meetings in a day. After we had been at Leuwarden, we passed by Franeker to Harlingen in West-Friezland, which was the furthest place we went to that way. And having been out six days from Amsterdam, and had very good service in that time, in visiting friends and publishing truth amongst the people, we took ship at Harlingen for Amsterdam on the 26th of the fourth month, and arrived there that night. The first-day following we were at the meeting at Amsterdam, which was very large and precious; many of the world's people were there, and some of their teachers, some great persons also, and they seemed very attentive; and a good opportunity we all had, one after another, to declare the word of the Lord unto them, and open the way of truth amongst them, John Claus

interpreting for us. I tarried the next day at Amsterdam; but George Watts went to a burial at Harlem, where many hundreds of people were, amongst whom he had a good opportunity, and came back at night to us.

The day following we went by boat to Osan-overton in Waterland, and from thence in another small boat, about a league over a small river, where we passed over and by above an hundred bridges, and so went to Lansmeer to a friend's house, whose name was Timon Peters; and there we had a very good meeting: after which we returned to Amsterdam at night, and were at the meeting there next day. There were many at this meeting besides friends, and among the rest the great baptist-teacher Galenus, who was very attentive to the testimony of the truth, and when the meeting was done, came and got me by the hand very lovingly.

We went next day by boat to Alkmaer, about eight leagues from Amsterdam, passing through Sardam (the great town of ship-carpenters) and several other towns in the way. At Alkmaer (which is a pretty city) we staid, and had a meeting there next day at one William Williams his house. There were, besides friends, many very sober people at this meeting, who were very attentive to the testimonies of truth, that were borne both by Alexander Parker, George Watts and myself, John Claus being our interpreter. This was on the sixth-day of the week, and on the seventh we returned to Amsterdam, partly by waggon, partly by draw-boat, being willing to be at the meeting at Amsterdam on the first-day, because it was like to be the last meeting we should have there. Accordingly we were at it, and a very large and open meeting it was: many great persons were at it, some earls (we were told) with their attendants out of Germany, very grave and sober; and the everlasting gospel was preached unto them.

After this meeting we took our leave of the friends of Amsterdam; and the next morning departed thence to Harlem, where we had a meeting at a friend's house, whose name is Abraham Frondenberg. There were great numbers of people at this meeting, and of great service it was. And after the meeting, a watch-maker of Amsterdam (who with his wife was come from Amsterdam to the meeting) desired to speak with me concerning religion. I had pretty much discourse with him, and both he and his wife were very low and tender, and received with gladness what I spake to them, and seemed well satisfied when they went away.

We went next day to Rotterdam, where we tarried two meetings; and on the sixteenth day of the fifth month, went to the Brill to take ship for England.

It was about the fourth hour in the afternoon that we went on board the packet boat, of which one William Sherman was master, and set sail from the Brill. But when we had gone over the Maes about a league, we cast anchor at a place called the Pitt, (because it is near unto the sands) and there we tarried till about the fourth hour next morning; when, having a pretty fair wind and the tide with us, we weighed anchor, and by the fourth hour next day were got within five leagues of Harwich, over against Aldborough Castle; but the wind falling short, and the tide growing weak, it was the first hour in the afternoon before we came so near to Harwich that boats could come to receive the passengers and goods. There were on board about forty passengers in all; of which some were English, some Scots, some Dutch, some French, some Spanish, some Flemish, and some Jews.

I spent a day with friends at Harwich, while Alexander Parker and George Watts went by water to visit friends at Ipswich, and returned at night. Next morning early we all took coach for Colchester, and were at the meeting there, which was large and peaceable: and after the meeting, and that we had refreshed ourselves, we travelled on to Witham, about ten miles on the road towards London, and lodged there that night. Next day we went on towards London; and William Mead meeting us on the way at Hare-street, I went with him to his house, the other friends going on for London.

Here, being weak with travel and continual exercise, I spent some time to rest myself, and recover my health; visiting in the mean time the friends in that part of the country, as I was able to get abroad. And when I was a little recovered, I went from thence to Enfield, visiting friends there and thereabouts; and so to Dalston to see the widow Stot; and from thence to London, there being some friends come over from New Jersey in America about business, which I was desired to be present at.

It was the latter end of the summer when I came to London, and I staid there the winter following; saving that once or twice (my wife being in town with me this winter) I went down with her to her son Rouse's at Kingston. And though my body was very weak; yet was I in continual service, either in public meetings, (when I was able to bear them) or in particular businesses amongst friends, and visiting those that were sufferers for truth,

either by imprisonment or loss of goods. Many things also in this time I wrote, some for the press, and some for particular service; as letters to the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein, on behalf of friends that were sufferers in their dominions; whereof the following is a copy:

For the Duke of Holstein this; whom I do intreat in the love of God to read over, which is sent in love to him.

‘I understand, that formerly by some evil-minded persons it was reported to thee, when one Elizabeth Hendricks came to Fredrickstadt to visit the people called quakers there in thy country, that it was a scandal to the Christian religion, that a woman should be suffered to preach in a public assembly religiously gathered together, &c. Upon which thou didst grant forth an order to the rulers of Fredrickstadt aforesaid, to make the said people leave that place forthwith, or to send them away. But the said rulers being Arminians, and they, or their fathers being come to live there, as a persecuted people in Holland, (not much above threescore years ago) made answer to the duke, they were not willing to persecute others for conscience sake, who had looked upon persecution on that account in their own case as antichristian, &c. But after that the said people of God, in scorn called quakers, did write unto thee, O duke, from Fredrickstadt; and since that time they have had their liberty, and their meetings peaceable, to serve and worship God almost these twenty years at Fredrickstadt aforesaid, and thereabout, freely without any molestation; which liberty they have acknowledged as a great favour and kindness from thee.

‘And now, O duke, thou professing Christianity from the great and mighty name of Christ Jesus (who is King of kings and Lord of lords) and the holy scriptures of truth of the Old and New Testament, do not you use many women’s words in your service and worship out of the Old and New Testament? And because the apostle saith, “Let your women keep silence in the churches; and that he did not permit a woman to speak, but to be under obedience; and if she will learn any thing to ask her husband at home; for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church. And 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. “Women are to learn in silence and not suffered to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.” 1 Cor. xiv. 34. Now, here the duke may see, what sort of women they be, that were to be in silence and in subjection, which the law commands to be silent,

and not to usurp authority over the man, nor to speak in the church; these were unruly women. And in the same chapter, he commands women not to plait or broider their hair, nor to wear gold, pearls, or costly array; these things were forbidden by the apostle; and such women, that wear such things, are to learn in silence and to be subject, and not to usurp authority over the men; for it is a shame for such to speak in the church. But do not such women as these, that wear gold and silver, and pearls and gaudy apparel, or costly array, and plait and broider their hair, speak in your church, when your priest sets them to sing psalms? Don't they speak when they sing psalms? Consider this, O duke! And yet you say, your women must keep silence in the church, and must not speak in the church; but when they sing psalms in your churches, are they then silent? And though the apostle forbids such women before-mentioned to speak in the church; yet in another place the apostle encourages the good or holy women to be teachers of good things, as in Tit. ii. 3, 4. And John (2 John i.) writes to the elect lady and her children; and John rejoiced greatly, that he found her children walk in the truth: surely, this elect lady had taught and instructed those children that walked in the truth; and John, who was an apostle of Christ, commended her. And the apostle said, "I intreat thee, true yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are written in the book of life." Here the apostle owns these holy women and encourages them, which laboured with him in the gospel, and did not forbid them; Philip iv. 2, 3. And the apostle Paul commended Phœbe unto the church of the Romans, and calls her a servant unto the church of Cenchrea, and sends his epistle by her to the Romans from Corinth, and desires the church at Rome to receive her in the Lord as becometh saints: and that they were to assist her in whatsoever business she had need of; for she had been a succourer of many and of him also: and said, Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Now here the duke may see these were good holy women; the apostle did not forbid such speaking, Rom. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. but commended them. And Priscilla and Aquila instructed and expounded unto Apollo the way of God more perfectly, Acts xviii. 26. So here Priscilla was an instructor as well as Aquila; which holy women the apostle doth not forbid. Neither did the

apostle forbid Philip's four daughters, which were virgins, to prophecy (as in Acts). And women might pray and prophecy in the church, 1 Cor. xi. 5. And the apostles said to the Jews, and shewed them the fulfilling of Joel's prophecy: "That in the last days God would pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and daughters should prophecy, &c. and servants and hand-maids, they should prophecy with the Spirit of God." And so the apostle encourages daughters and hand-maids to prophecy as well as sons; and if they do prophecy, they must speak to the church or people, Joel ii. 28. Acts ii. 17, 18. And Miriam the prophetess, did not she sing unto the Lord and all the women with her, when the Lord had delivered the children of Israel from Pharaoh? did not she praise the Lord, and prophecy in the congregation of the children of Israel? and was not this in the church? Exod. xv. 21. Moses and Aaron did not forbid her prophesying or speaking; but Moses said, Would God, all the Lord's people were prophets! and the Lord's people are women as well as men. And Deborah was a judge and a prophetess; and do not you make use of Deborah's and Miriam's words in your service and worship? as you may see (Judg. v. 1—31.) Deborah's large speech or song; and Barak did not forbid her, nor none of the Jewish priests. And did not she make this speech or song in the congregation or church of Israel? And in the book of Ruth there are good speeches of those good women, which were not forbidden. And Hannah prayed in the temple before Eli, and the Lord answered her prayer; and see, what a speech Hannah makes, and a praising of God before Eli the high-priest, and he did not forbid her, 1 Sam. ii. v. 1. to 10. And Josiah the king sent his priest with several others to ask counsel of Huldah the prophetess, who dwelt at Jerusalem in the college, 2 Kings xxii. 14. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. So here the king and his priests did not despise the counsel of this prophetess; and she did prophecy to the congregation of Israel, as may be seen in these chapters. And in Luke i. 41 to 55, there see, what a godly speech Elizabeth made to Mary, and what a large godly speech Mary made also. And Mary said, that the Lord did regard the low estate of his hand-maid, &c. And do not you make use in your worship and service of Mary's and Elizabeth's words from Luke ii. 41 to 55, who were holy women in your churches, and yet forbid women's speaking in your churches and to be in silence? yet all sorts of women speak in your churches, when they sing, and say amen. And in Luke the second, there was one Anna a

prophetess, she was a widow of about fourscore and four years; which departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day: did not she confess Christ Jesus in the temple, and gave thanks to the Lord, and spake of Christ to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem? Luke ii. 36, 37, 38. So such holy women were not forbidden to speak in the church, neither in the law nor gospel. And was it not Mary Magdalen and other women, that first preached Christ's resurrection to the apostles? The woman indeed (namely Eve) was first in transgression, and so they were women that first preached the resurrection of Christ Jesus; for Christ said to Mary, &c. "Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and to your Father, and to my God, and to your God," John xx. 17. And Luke xxiv. 10, it was Mary Magdalen and Johanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told the apostles, "that Christ was risen from the dead, and their words and these women's words, were as idle tales to the apostles, and they believed them not; *ibid.* vers. 11. And vers. 22, "Certain women also of our company made us astonished," they said: so here it may be seen, that the women's preaching the resurrection of Christ did astonish the apostles, and Christ sent these women to preach his resurrection; so it is no shame for such women to preach Christ Jesus: neither were they to be silent when Christ sends them. And the apostle says, "Every tongue shall confess to God," Rom. xiv. 11, and "Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," Philip ii. 11. So here it is clear, that women must confess Christ as well as men; if every tongue must confess. And the apostle saith, "There is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus," Gal. iii. 28.

'And whereas it is said, women must ask their husbands at home, &c. Now, the duke knows very well, virgins have no husbands, nor widows; for Anna the prophetess was a widow; and if Christ be the husband, men must ask counsel of him at home as well as women, before they teach. And set the case, that a Turk's wife should be a Christian, or a papist's wife should be a lutheran, or a calvinist, must they ask and learn of their husbands at home, before they confess Christ Jesus in the congregation of the Lord? Their counsel will be to them to turn Turks or papists.

'I intreat the duke to consider these things: and again I intreat him to mind God's grace and truth in his heart that is come by Jesus; that by his Spirit of Grace and

truth he may come to serve and worship God in his Spirit and truth; so that he may serve the living eternal God that made him, in his generation, and have his peace in Christ, that the world cannot take away. And I do desire his good, peace, and prosperity in this world, and his eternal comfort and happiness in the world that is everlasting without end. Amen.

G. F.

London, the 26th of the Eighth month, 1684.

Besides the foregoing, I writ also epistles to friends, one of which the following is a copy:

‘Friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom you have all life, peace and salvation; walk in him, who is your heavenly rock and foundation, that stands sure, who hath all power in heaven and earth given unto him. So his power is over all: and let your faith stand in his power, which is over all from everlasting to everlasting, and so is over the devil and his power; that in the holy, heavenly wisdom of God, ye may be all preserved and kept to God’s glory, out of all snares and temptations; so that God’s wisdom may be justified of all his children in this day of his power, and they all may be faithful, serving and worshipping God in his Spirit and truth, and valiant for it upon the earth. For, as the apostle saith, “They that believe are entered into their rest, and have ceased from their own works, as God did from his.” Now this rest is an eternal rest in Christ, the eternal Son of God, in whom every true believer hath everlasting life in Christ Jesus, their rest and everlasting day. For Christ the Rest bruise the serpent’s head, and through death destroyeth death, and the devil (the power of death) and his works; and he is the eternal Rest, that giveth eternal life to his sheep. And Christ fulfilleth the prophets, and all the figures, shadows and ceremonies, as in the Old Testament; and all the promises are yea and amen in Christ, their and our eternal rest, who was the eternal rest to all the true believers in the apostles’ days and ever since, and is so now. And Christ is the beginning and the ending, the first and last, who is ascended above all principalities, powers, thrones and dominions, that he might fill all things. For by Jesus Christ all things were made and created, whether they be things in heaven, or things in the earth; and he is the eternal rest, and they that believe are entered into Christ, their eternal rest, in whom they have (as I said before) eternal life and peace with God. Wherefore I say

again, in him who is your rest, live and abide; for in him ye are happy, and his blessings will rest upon you. God Almighty keep and preserve you all, his true believers, in Christ your rest and peace this day. Amen.'

G. F.

London, the 18th of the Twelfth month, 1684.

About a month after this I got a little out of London, visiting friends, first at South-street, then at Ford Green and Enfield, where I had meetings; and afterwards I went to Waltham Abbey, and was at the meeting there on a first day, which was very large and peaceable. Then returning through friends at Enfield and about Edmonton-side, I came back to London in the third month, to advise with and assist friends, in laying friends' sufferings before the parliament then sitting; and we drew up a short account of our sufferings, which we caused to be printed and spread amongst the parliament-men.

The yearly-meeting now coming on, I was much concerned for the friends that came up to it out of the countries, lest they should meet with any trouble or disturbance in their passages up or down; and the rather, for that about this time there began to be great bustles in the nation upon the duke of Monmouth's landing in the west. But the Lord, according to his wonted goodness, was graciously pleased to preserve and keep friends in safety, and gave us a blessed opportunity to meet together in peace and quietness, and accompanied our meeting with his living refreshing presence; blessed for ever be his holy name!

Now considering the hurries and bustles that were in the nation, it came upon me at the close of this meeting, to write a few lines to friends, to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which the trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth. Wherefore I writ as followeth:

' Dear friends and brethren,

' Whom the Lord hath called and chosen in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have all rest and peace with God; the Lord God by his mighty power, which is over all, hath preserved you and supported you to this day, to be a peculiar holy people to himself, so that by his eternal spirit and power ye might be all preserved and kept out of the world; for in the world is the trouble. And now in this great day of the Lord God Almighty, he is shaking the heavens and the earth of outward professions, and their elements are in a heat, and

their sun and their moon are darkened, and the stars falling, and the mountains and hills shaking and tottering, as it was among the Jews in the day of Christ's appearing. And therefore, all dear friends and brethren, dwell in the Seed, Christ Jesus, who is the rock and foundation, that cannot be shaken; that ye may see with the light and Spirit of Christ, that ye are the fixed stars in the firmament of God's power; and in this his power and light, you will see over all the wandering stars, and clouds without water, and trees without fruit. And that which may be shaken, will be shaken; as will all they that are wandered from the firmament of God's power.

‘ Now, dear friends and brethren, you that are redeemed from the death and fall of Adam, by Christ the second Adam, in him ye have life, rest, and peace; for Christ saith, In me ye shall have peace; but in the world trouble. And the apostle saith, They that believe, are entered into their rest, namely, Christ, who hath overcome the world, who bruiseth the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and fulfills the types, figures, and shadows of the Old Testament and the prophets; in whom the promises are yea and amen; who is the first and last, beginning and ending, yea and amen; who is the eternal rest. So keep and walk in Christ, your rest, every one that have received him, your eternal rest.

‘ And now, dear friends and brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, or tumults, or outrages, quarrels and strife, should arise and be in the world, keep out of them all; and concern not yourselves with them: but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. And live in the love which God hath shed abroad in your hearts through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing, that is below and without; nor to hinder or break your heavenly fellowship in the light and gospel and Spirit of Christ; nor your holy communion in the Holy Ghost, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads you into all truth. And in this Holy Ghost, in which is your communion, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, you have fellowship with the Father and the Son; and communion and fellowship one with another. And this is it which links and joins Christ's church or body together, to him the heavenly and spiritual head, and in unity in his spirit, which is the bond of peace of all his church and living members, in whom they have eternal and everlasting rest

and peace in Christ, and with God everlasting, who is to be blessed and praised for ever, amen.

‘ Now, dear friends, forsake not the assembling of yourselves together, who are gathered in the name of Jesus; who is your prophet, that God has raised up in the New Testament, to be heard in all things: who opens to you, and no man can shut; and shuts, and no man can open: who is your priest, made higher than the heavens by the power of an endless life; by him you are made a royal priesthood, to offer up to God spiritual sacrifice: who is the bishop of your souls, to oversee you, that ye do not go astray from God: who is the good shepherd, that hath laid down his life for his sheep; and they hear his voice, and follow him, and he gives to them eternal life.

‘ And now, dear friends and brethren, abide in Christ, the vine, that ye may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. And as every one hath received Christ, walk in him (who is not of the world, that lies in wickedness); so that ye may be preserved out of the vain fashions and customs of the world, which satisfy the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but are of the world that passes away. And who joins to that which is not of the Father, or encourages it; draws the mind from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore let Christ rule in your hearts, that your minds, souls, and spirits may be kept, and preserved out of the vanities of the world, both in their words, ways, and actions; so that ye may be a peculiar people, zealous of good works, serving the Lord God through Jesus Christ, in whom is life: and may be a peculiar people to the praise and glory of God; and by the word of his grace your words may be gracious, and in your lives and conversations ye may shew forth righteousness, holiness, and godliness. That so God Almighty may be glorified in you all, and through you all, who is above all, blessed and praised for ever, amen.’

G. F.

London, the 11th of the
4th month, 1685.

Several other letters also I writ at this time to friends in divers foreign countries, from whom I had received letters about the affairs of truth; which when I had dispatched, the yearly meeting being over, and the country friends for the most part gone out of town, I got a little way out of town also; being much spent with the heat of the weather, throngs in meetings, and continual business. I went at

first to South-street, where I abode some days. And among other services that I had there, a great sense entered me of the growth and increase of pride, vanity, and excess in apparel; and that not only amongst the people of the world, but too much also amongst some that came among us, and seemed to make a profession of the truth. And in the sense I had of the evil thereof, it came upon me to give forth the following paper, as a reproof and check thereunto:

‘The apostle Peter saith (in 1 Pet. iii.) “of the women’s adorning; “Let it not be (mark, let it not be: this is a positive prohibition) that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel: but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of a great price: for after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves.”

‘Here ye may see what is the ornament of the holy women, which was in the sight of God of great price, and which the holy women, who trusted in God, adorned themselves with. But the unholy women, that trust not in God, their ornament is not a meek and a quiet spirit: they adorn themselves with plaiting the hair, and putting on of apparel, and wearing of gold; which is forbidden by the apostle in his general epistle to the church of Christ, the true Christians.

‘And the apostle saith, (1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.) “In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.

‘Now here ye may see what the women were not to adorn themselves with, who professed godliness: they were not to adorn themselves with broided hair, nor gold, nor pearls, nor costly array; for this was not looked upon to be modest apparel for holy women, that professed godliness and good works. But this adorning or apparel is for the immodest, and unshamefaced and unsober women, that profess not godliness, neither follow those good works that God commands. And therefore it doth not become men and women who profess true Christianity and godliness, to be adorned with gold, or chains, or pearls, or costly array, with broided hair; for these things are for the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father. And therefore all

the holy men and women are to mind that, which is more precious than gold; who are "redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot. Therefore as obedient children to God, not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignorance; but as he which hath called you, is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." 1 Pet. i. 14, 15.

"Christ saith, "The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment." Luke xii. 23.

"I read of a moral-wise philosopher, who, meeting a woman with her neck and breast bare, laid his hand upon her, and said, Woman, wilt thou sell this flesh? and she replying, no: Then pray, said he, shut up your shop; (meaning her bare breasts and neck). So they were looked upon as harlots, that went with their necks, breasts, and backs bare, and not civil people, even among the moral heathens. Therefore they that profess the knowledge of true Christianity, should be ashamed of such things. You may see a book written by the very papists, and another by Baxter the presbyterian, against bare breasts and bare backs, and them that shewed their flesh uncovered: they that were but in an outward profession, did declare against such things; and therefore they which are in the possession of truth and true Christianity, should be ashamed of such things. Read, I pray you, the third of Isaiah, and there you may see how that holy prophet was grieved with the foolish women's vain attire, and how he was sent by the Lord to reprove them. And envious, persecuting Jezebel, her attired head and bravery, like a painted harlot out of the truth, did not keep her from the judgments of God, when the Lord stirred up Jehu against her. Doth not pride go before a fall, and a haughty mind before destruction? And God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. And Solomon saith, "The Lord will destroy the house of the proud." Prov. xv. 25. "For the day of the Lord shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, &c. and he shall be brought low." Isa. ii. 12. and Mal. iv. Therefore take heed of calling the proud happy: for the Lord will scatter the proud in the imaginations of their own hearts, and exalt them of low degree. And you may read in the Revelations (chap. xvii. 4. and xviii. 16.) of the false church, how she was outwardly decked, but full of abomination, and came to a downfall at last. And therefore it is good for all that profess the truth, to use this world as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away;

but the word of the Lord endureth for ever. "The Lord taketh pleasure in his people, he will beautify the meek with salvation." Psal. cxlix. 4. Therefore all that know the truth as it is in Jesus, are to be beautified and clothed with this salvation, which salvation is a strong wall or a bulwark against that spirit that would lead you down into the fall from God, or into those things which the fallen man and woman delight in, and beautify or adorn themselves with. And therefore all that profess the truth, be circumspect, sincere, and fervent, following the Lord Jesus Christ, who is not of this world; in whom ye have life and peace with God.'

G. F.

South-street, the 24th of the
Fourth Month, 1685.

After I had been some weeks in the country at South-street, and at and about Enfield (in which time I had several meetings with friends) I returned to London. And amongst other services that I found there, one was, to assist friends in drawing up testimony, to clear our friends from being concerned in the late rebellion in the west, and from all plots against the government: which accordingly we did; and delivered them to the chief justice, who was then to go down into the west, with commission to try prisoners.

I tarried some time in London, visiting meetings, and labouring among friends in the service of truth. But finding my health much impaired for want of fresh air, I went a little way out of town to Charles Bathurst's country house at Epping Forest, where I staid a few days; and while I was there it came upon me to write the following epistle to friends:

'Dear friends,

'Who are called, chosen, and faithful in this day of trial, and temptations, and sufferings, whom the Lord by his right hand hath upholden in all your sufferings (and some to death) for the Lord and his truth's sake; Christ saith, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world; in me ye have peace; but in the world ye have trouble." The children of the Seed, which be heirs of the kingdom, know this is true. And though ye have trials by false brethren, Judases and sons of perdition, that are gone into the temple of God, and exalted above all that is called God, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and the brightness of his coming: and though ye be tried by powers or principalities, yet there is nothing able to separate you

from the love of God, which ye have in Christ Jesus. In that love dwell, which bears all things and fulfils the law, in which edify one another, and be courteous, and kind, and humble: for to such God giveth his grace plentifully, and such he teacheth. And pray in the Holy Ghost, which proceeds from the Father and the Son; and in it keep your holy communion, and unity in the spirit, the bond of peace, which is the King of kings' heavenly peace. In that you are all bound to good behaviour, and keeping peace among yourselves, and seeking the peace of all men; and shewing forth the heavenly, gentle, and peaceable wisdom to all men, in righteousness and truth, answering the good in all people in all your lives and conversations (for the Lord is glorified in your bringing forth spiritual fruit,) that ye may eye and behold the Lord in all your actions; that the blessings of the Lord ye may all feel to rest upon you. Whether ye be the Lord's prisoners for his name and truth's sake, or at liberty, in all things labour to be content (for that is a continual feast), and let no trouble move you; then ye will be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed. And in all things exercise the word of patience, which word will sanctify all things to you. And study to be quiet, and do the Lord's business that he requires of you; and your own, in truth and righteousness: and whatsoever ye do, let it be done to the praise and glory of God in the name of Jesus Christ. All they that do make God's people to suffer, they make the seed to suffer in their own particulars, and imprison the just there: and such will not visit the seed in themselves, but cast it into prison in others, and not visit it in prison. You may read that Christ saith such must go into everlasting punishment. That is a sad punishment and prison. And all such as are become apostates and backsliders, that do crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame, and trample under feet the blood of the Son of God, by which they were cleansed, and then come to be unclean; such grieve, vex, and quench, and rebel against, the Spirit of God in themselves: and then such rebel against them that walk in the Spirit of God. Such are unfaithful to God and man, and are enemies to every good work and service of God: but their end will be according to their works; who are like unto the earth, that hath often received rain, but brings forth briars and thorns, which are to be rejected, and are for the fire. Therefore, dear friends, in all your sufferings, feel the Lord's eternal arm and power, which hath upheld you, and supported you to this day, and will to the end, as your faith stands in it, and as you are settled upon the rock and foun-

dation Christ Jesus, that cannot be removed: in have life and peace with God. And so the Almighty in him give you dominion, and preserve you all to his glory; that in all your suffering, feel his presence: and that, when ye have finished testimony, ye may receive the crown of glory, which hath laid up for them that fear and serve him. A

The 15th of the Seventh month, 1685.

Having spent about a week at this time among the country, I returned to London, where I continued two months, visiting friends' meetings, and I had great relief for friends from their sufferings, which ye upon them in many parts of the nation. Several also I writ relating to the service of truth, one was concerning order in the church of God, which that were gone out of the unity of friends, did much. And that was as followeth:

'Among all societies, or families, or nations of the world, they have among them some sort of order. There was the order of Aaron in the old testament, and there was the order of Melchizedek before that whose order Christ Jesus came; and he did not change that order. So God is a God of order in his will, and in his church: and all the believers in the life in Christ, that do pass from death to life in the order of the Holy Spirit, power, light, and government of Christ Jesus, of the increase whereof is no end. And this is a mystery to all those people, who have written and printed so many orders, which the Lord's power and spirit hath brought forth among his people. And you that cry so much of orders, is it not manifest that you are gone into darkness (thick as darkness itself) and of the darkness, into disorder, and where the light is as darkness? And is not this your condition seen by all them that walk in the truth, and whose conversations are according to the gospel of life and salvation?

'The devil, satan, dragon, and the first angel, the beast, and the whore and false prophets, and their shippers and followers, all these are out of the tabernacle, and abode not in it, nor in the order of it; and they are over them all. In Salem is God's tabernacle, and in Shiloh, a tabernacle, and his tabernacle is in Shiloh; and far beyond the tabernacles of Ham. (Psal. lxxviii.)

‘All the figures and shadows were and are in time; but Christ the substance is the beginning and the ending. And all trials, troubles, persecutions and temptations came up in time; but the Lord’s power, which is everlasting, is over all such things; in which is safety.

‘The black world of darkness lieth in wickedness, and by their wisdom knoweth not God, that made the world and all things therein; for the god of the world and prince of the air ruleth in the hearts of all them that disobey the living God that made them. And so the god of this wicked world hath blinded all the eyes of the infidels or heathen; so that this wicked world by their wisdom doth not know the living God.

‘In the old testament the Lord said, “With all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt.” Lev. ii. 13. And Christ saith in his new covenant, “Every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will you season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.” Mark ix. 49, 50.

‘We have received the earnest of the Spirit, which is the earnest of the inheritance, that fadeth not away. For God poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh; so it is God’s Spirit, which is above our natural spirit (by which alone we do not know God,) for it is with the Spirit of God, that we do know the things of God. And the Spirit of God doth witness to our souls and spirits, that this Spirit of God is the earnest of an eternal inheritance. “God opens his people’s ears to discipline, and commands, that they turn from iniquity. If they obey and serve him, they shall spend their days in prosperity, and their years in pleasure; but if they obey him not, they shall perish by the sword, and they shall die without knowledge.” Job xxxvi. 10, 11, 12. So the disobedient, that do not turn from their iniquity, have not this prosperity and pleasure, but die without the knowledge of God; and such, their ears are shut to this discipline, which God opens to his people.’

G. F.

When I had been about two months in London, I was sent for to my son Rouse’s at Kingston, to visit a daughter of his, which at that time lay very sick; but recovered. Whilst I staid there I had several meetings with friends; and returning by Hammersmith, staid the first-day meeting there, which was large and peaceable. And having visited friends thereabouts, I came back to London again, being very intent upon the business of getting redress for

suffering friends. In this, and other services for friends and truth I continued at London, till the latter end of the eleventh month; save that I went in this time to visit an ancient friend at Bethnal Green, with whom I tarried three or four days. While I was there, I was much exercised in the sense of the enemy's working, to draw from the holy way of truth into a false liberty, and so into the world's ways and worships again. And the example of the back-sliding Jews coming before me, I was moved to write the following paper, as a warning to all such:

"Here you may see, when the Jews rebelled against the good Spirit of God, which he gave them to instruct them, they forsook God and his law, way and worship, and then they went a whoring after Balaam's ways, and became like the wild ass-colt, snuffing up the wind, as in Jer. ii. 28. And in Jer. iii. see how Judah played the harlot under every green tree, and upon every high mountain; and therefore the Lord divorced Judah, as he had divorced Israel, when she forsook his ways and followed the heathens' ways. And though the Lord had led them to the full, yet they forsook him, "and committed adultery, and assembled themselves together in harlots'-houses," Jer. v. 7. "And with their whoredom they defiled the land, and committed adultery with stocks and stones." Jer. iii. 9. So here you may see, when they forsook the living eternal God, they followed the religious and worships of other nations, whose gods were made of stocks and stones, which the Jews worshipped, and committed adultery withal. When they forsook the living God, and his way and worship, they forsook the worship at Jerusalem at the temple, and followed the heathens' worships in the mountains and fields; and so it was called adultery and whoredom to join with other religions and forsake God; as in Jer. xiii. 27.

"And now, if the children of New Jerusalem, that is above, should forsake the worship, that Christ in his New Testament set up (which is in spirit and in truth) and follow the worships of nations, which men have set up, will not they that do so, commit adultery with them, in forsaking God's worship, and Christ, the new and living way?"

"And in Jer. xlv. ye may see how the children of Judah provoked the Lord against them, by worshipping the works of their own hands, and following the gods of the land of Egypt. In this they committed adultery, forsaking the living God, their husband, and his worship; and then ye may see God's judgments pronounced against

them to their destruction. And what will become of those that forsake the worship in spirit and truth, which Christ set up, and worship the works of their own hands in spiritual Egypt, and follow spiritual Egypt's will-worship, which they invented? may not this be called whoredom in them that forsake Christ, the new and living way, and his pure religion, and his worship, that he hath set up? And they that do forsake the Lord's way, and his worship that he set up, and follow the world's ways and worships that they set up, do not they, whose way they follow, become at last their enemies? as in Lament. i. See how the Jews forsook the Lord's way and worship, and doted on their lovers, (the Assyrians, &c.) and with all their idols they were defiled; and how they did not leave the whoredoms brought from Egypt, and how they were polluted with the Babylonians' bed; as ye may read in Ezek. xxiii. When they forsook the Lord, his way and worship, and followed the way and worship of the heathen; then it was said, they went a whoring after other lovers, and committed adultery with them.

'And ye may see in Ezek. xvi. how the state of the Jews was likened unto that of their sister Sodom, and how that they had played the harlot with the Assyrians, and committed fornication with the Egyptians, and had increased their whoredoms in following their abominable idols. And therefore the Lord carried away the two tribes that forsook him into Babylon; as you may see in Ezek. xvii. 20. And they that forsake Christ, the new and living way, and the worship of God in spirit and truth, which Christ set up in his new testament, they go into captivity in spiritual Babylon.

'And in Hosea ii. ye may see how he discovers the whoredoms and idolatry of the Jews, who forsook the Lord, and compares them to an harlot. And in chap. viii. ye may see the destruction threatened against the Jews, for their impiety and idolatry. In chap. ix. also, the distress and captivity of the Jews is threatened for their sins and idolatry. And again they are reprov'd and threatened for their impiety and idolatry. Hos. x. And this was for forsaking the Lord and his way, and following the ways of their own inventions, and the ways of the heathen.

'And doth not Isaiah say, "That the Lord would visit Tyre, and that she should commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth;" and therefore the Lord threatened destruction upon her, chap. xxiii. And in chap. lvii. you may see how the Lord reprov'd the Jews for their whorish idolatry, and said,

"Upon an high and lofty mountain hast thou set thy bed; even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifices. Thou hast enlarged thy bed, and made a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed, where thou sawest it." This was a joining to the heathen's religions, altars and sacrifices, and a forsaking the Lord's altar and sacrifices, which he commanded in the law; and therefore that was committing whoredom with the heathen, and a going into their beds from the living God that made them. And now in the new testament God having poured his Spirit upon all flesh, that by his Spirit all might come to be a royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Jesus Christ; all that err from the Spirit of God and rebel against it, they are not like to offer spiritual sacrifices to God; and such their sacrifice God doth not accept, no more than he did the heathens and the Jews, who rebelled against his good Spirit, that he gave them to instruct them.

"And ye may see in the 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters of the Revelation, the punishment of the great whore Babylon, the mother of harlots; and the victory of the Lamb, and how he calleth God's people out of Babylon; for in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth; but there ye may read her judgment and her downfall. And thus whoredoms are they, that are whored from the Spirit of God, and so from God and from his holy worship in spirit and truth, and from the pure undefiled religion, that keeps from the spots of the world, and from the new and living way Christ Jesus; and so are whored from the Spirit of God into false religions, ways and worships, and so corrupted the earth with her abominations. But her judgment and downfall is seen, over whom Christ hath the victory; and the marriage of the Lamb is come, glory to the Lord for ever! And God's pure religion and pure worship in spirit and truth Christ hath set up, as it was in the apostles' days. Hallelujah!"

G. F.

I soon returned to London, but made no long stay there at this time, my body not being able to bear the closeness of the city long together. While I was in town, besides the usual services of visiting friends, and taking care about their sufferings to get them eased, I assisted the friends of the city in distributing certain sums of money, which our friends of Ireland had charitably and very liberally raised, and sent over hither for the relief of their brethren, who

suffered for the testimony of a good conscience here; which monies were distributed amongst poor, suffering friends in the several counties, in proportion, according as we understood their need.

Before I left the city also, I heard of a great doctor that was lately come from Poland; whom I invited to my lodging, and had a great deal of discourse with him. And after I had informed myself by him of such things as I had a desire to know, I writ a letter to the king of Poland on behalf of friends at Dantzic (a town belonging to him) who had long been under grievous sufferings. A copy whereof here follows:

To John the Third, King of Poland, great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, and Prussia, Defender of the city of Dantzic, &c. Concerning the innocent and afflicted people, in scorn called Quakers, who are now fed with bread and water in bridewell of the aforesaid city under close confinement, where their friends, wives and children, are hardly suffered to come to see them.

‘ O King!

‘ The magistrates of the city of Dantzic say, that it is thy order and command, that these innocent and afflicted people should suffer such oppression. Now this punishment is inflicted upon them, only and alone, because they come together in the name of Jesus Christ, their Redeemer and Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen from the dead for their justification; who is their Prophet, whom God hath raised up like unto Moses; whom they ought to hear in all things in this day of the gospel and the new covenant; who went astray like scattered sheep, but now are returned to the chief Shepherd and Bishop of their souls. 1 Pet. ii. 25. who has given his life for his sheep, and they hear his voice and follow him; who leads them into his pastures of life. John x.

‘ And now, O King! I understand, that thou openly professest Christianity, and the great and mighty name of Jesus Christ, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, who rules all nations with a rod of iron. Therefore, O King, it seems hard to us that any, that openly confesses Christ Jesus (yea, the magistrates of Dantzic do the same) should inflict those punishments upon an innocent and harmless people, by reason of their tender consciences, only and alone, because they come together to serve and worship

the eternal God, who made them, in spirit and in truth; which worship Christ Jesus has set up sixteen hundred years ago; as we read in John iv. 23, 24.

‘Therefore, I beseech the king, that he would consider, whether Christ in the New Testament, ever gave such a command to his apostles, that they should shut up any in prison, and feed them with bread and water, who was not conformable in every particular to their religion, faith and worship? Or, where did the apostles exercise such things in the true church after Christ’s ascension? For is not this the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, that Christ’s followers should love their enemies, and pray for them that hate them, and persecute and despitefully use them? Matth. v.

‘And now, is it not a shame to Christendom among the Turks and others, that one Christian should persecute another for the doctrine of faith, worship and religion? And they cannot prove that Christ ever gave them such a command, whom they profess to be their Lord and Master. For Christ says, that his believers and followers should love one another, and by this they shall be known to be his disciples. And did not Christ reprove those, who would have fire to come down from heaven, to destroy them who would not receive him, and did not he tell them they did not know what spirit they were of? And therefore all who have persecuted men, or taken away their lives, because they would not receive their religion, have they known what spirit they were or are of? Therefore is it not good for all to know by the Spirit of Christ, what spirit they are of? For the apostle says, Rom. viii. 9, “If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.” And does not the apostle say, 2 Cor. x. 4, “The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual, &c.” And “we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness, &c.” Thus we can see here, that the fight of the first Christians, and their weapons in the days of the apostles, were spiritual in matters of faith, religion, and worship, in the church of Christ.

‘Now would not the king and the magistrates of Dantzic think, that it was contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced by the Turk to his religion? Would it not in like manner seem hard to the magistrates of Dantzic, and contrary to their consciences, if they should be forced to the religion of the king of Poland? or the king of Poland if he should be compelled to the religion of the magistrates of Dantzic? And if they would not be subject thereunto, that then they should be banished from their wives and

families, and out of their native country, or otherwise be fed with bread and water under a strict confinement?

‘ Therefore we beseech the king with all Christian humility, and the magistrates of Dantzic, that they would order their proceedings in this matter according to the royal law of God, which is, to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, and to love their neighbour as themselves. For we have this charity, that we hope and believe, that the king of Poland and his people, with the magistrates of Dantzic, own the writings of the New Testament, as well as of the old; and therefore we beseech the king and the magistrates of Dantzic to take heed, that their work of imprisoning an innocent people, for nothing but their meeting together in tenderness of conscience to serve and worship God, their Creator, may not be contrary and opposite to the royal law of God, and to the glorious and everlasting gospel of truth.

‘ So we desire the king in Christian love earnestly and weightily to consider these things, and to give order to set the innocent prisoners, our friends called quakers, at liberty from their strict confinement in Dantzic; that they may have freedom to serve and worship the living God in spirit and in truth, and go home to their outward habitations, and follow their trades and calling, to maintain their wives, children and families. And we believe that the king, in doing such a noble, glorious, yea Christian work, will not go unrewarded from the great God who made him, whom we serve and worship, who has the hearts of kings, and their lives and length of days in his hands.

‘ From him who desires, that the king and all his ministers may be preserved in the fear of God, and receive his word of wisdom, by which all things were made and created; that by it he may come to order all things to the glory of God, which God has put under his hand: that the king, both he and they, may enjoy the comforts and blessings of the Lord in this life, and in that which is to come, life eternal. Amen.’

G. F.

London in England, the 10th of the Third month,
commonly called May, 1684.

‘ *Postscript.*—The king may please to consider, that his and all men’s consciences are the prerogative of God.’

After this I went to Enfield, where, and in the country thereabouts, several friends had country-houses, not very

far from one another, amongst whom I tarried some time, visiting and being visited by friends, and having meetings with them. Several things I writ in this time, relating to the service of truth; one whereof was concerning judging: for some, who were departed from the truth, were so afraid of truth's judgment, that they made it much of their business to cry out against judging. Wherefore I writ a paper, proving by the scriptures of truth, that the church of Christ hath power and ability to judge those that profess to be of it, not only with respect to outward things relating to this world, but with respect to religious matters also. A copy of which follows:

Concerning Judging.

'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned; but he that is spiritual, judgeth all things (mark) all things; yet he himself is judged of no man. 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15. So here the natural man cannot judge of those things he receives not, for they are foolishness to him; but he is comprehended by the spiritual man and his foolishness, and is judged, though he cannot judge the spiritual man.

'Do not ye judge them that are within? saith the apostle, (this power the church had and hath) therefore put away from amongst yourselves that wicked person. And did not this wicked person, think you, profess and plead for liberty for his wickedness and his freedom, as he was a Christian, who was looked upon as a member of the church?

'And the apostle saith, For I verily, as absent in body, yet present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this wicked deed. 1 Cor. v. 3, 12. Here the apostle did judge, though afar off, and set up judgment in the church against false liberty, under what pretence soever it was.

'And the apostle saith, Dare any of you, having a matter against a brother, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints. Here the saints, the church, are to judge of things amongst themselves, and not for the unjust to judge of their matters. Do ye not know, the saints shall judge the world? So the saints are to judge the unjust, and not the unjust to judge their matters.

'And farther the apostle saith, If the world shall be judged by you, (to wit the saints) are you unworthy to judge the smaller matters amongst you?

‘ So here it is clear, that the saints have a judgment given them of Christ, by his power and spirit, light and wisdom, to judge the world, and not to carry their matters before the unjust, but to judge of them amongst themselves; and if they carry them before the unjust, they shew their unworthiness of the saints’ judgment.

‘ And further the apostle saith, Know ye not, that we shall judge the angels? (and angels are spirits) how much more the things which pertain to this life?

‘ If ye then have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set them up to judge, who have least esteem in the church. 1 Cor. vi. So here it is clear, the church of Christ has a judgment in the power and spirit of God, not only to judge in things that pertain to this life; but are also to judge of things betwixt brethren, without brother going to law with brother before unbelievers; which was a fault, and to be judged if they did so.

‘ But also the saints have a judgment to judge angels, that kept not their habitations; and the world. And as in Jude; He judged the angels that kept not their habitations, their first state: and did not he judge in divine matters here? and judged the state of Cain, and Balaam, and Core, and such like Christians, that were gotten into their steps, and were gone as far as they were, though they professed themselves Christians? And here again he judged in divine matters, and of their states and beings, who stood in the divine principle; and who were fallen from it.

‘ And the apostle saith, Try the spirits, and believe not every spirit. 1 John iv. And here again was a judgment in divine matters; and he judged such as went out from them; which whilst they were with them, they had sight of things and openings; but when they went from them, they went from the anointing; and therefore he exhorts the saints to keep to the anointing. And such as went from them that had the anointing, came to be the seducers and false prophets, and went into the world.

‘ And John had a judgment to try sacrifices, and distinguished Cains and Abels; and by the Spirit of God knew which God accepted, and which he did not accept: as in 1 John iii. 12. And the apostle Paul judged and tried such messengers and apostles, and transformers of themselves, like to the apostles of Christ; and would have the church to try such, and have the same judgment as he had. 2 Cor. xi.

‘ And the apostle Peter judged Ananias and Sapphira, and judged the thoughts of Simon Magus, who would have been a worker of miracles for money: and was not all this

judgment in divine matters? And the apostle Paul judged the preachers of circumcision both in the Romans and in the Galatians. For it was the faith and liberty of those preachers to preach up circumcision, though it was a wrong faith: and here did not the apostle again judge in divine matters?

‘And James judged in matters of faith, and manifested the living faith from the dead one. And also he judged in matters of religion, the vain religion from the pure religion, and distinguished them.

‘And Paul judged of the false brethren, that would spy out the liberty of the true; to whom he would give no place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with the saints; as in Gal. ii. And did not the apostle here judge in divine matters? And he judged concerning the matters of the gospel, when some came to pervert them with another gospel, and said, “The gospel which I received is not of man, neither was I taught it: but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.” Gal. i. 12. So here was a judgment to distinguish the gospel of Christ from all other gospels, which was accursed, which is after man, and received of man, and taught of man, and not by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Gal. i. And he had a judgment to know, who made the gospel chargeable, and who kept it without charge.

‘And he set up a judgment in the church, that the believers should not be unequally yoked; and to see when men had a communion in the light, and when they had it in the darkness; and when with Christ, and when with Baal; and with the believer and unbeliever; and with the temple of God, and with idols: as in 2 Cor. 6. And did he not set up a clear judgment here in divine matters in the church?

‘And the apostle judged such libertines through their knowledge, that could sit at meat in the idol temple; which caused the weak brother to perish through his knowledge and liberty, for whom Christ died. Now these, it is like, did profess, it was their faith, and their liberty; but did not keep in the unity of the true faith, but went about to destroy it. 1 Cor. viii.

‘And Peter, he gives judgment upon the angels that sinned, and were cast down into hell: and the state of the old world and of Sodom, and the state of the false prophets then amongst them, that could speak great swelling words of vanity; and whilst they promised themselves liberty, they themselves were the servants of corruptions. And

† Peter here a judgment in divine matters? These

were such, whose work was to bring into bondage, and these were like the dog and sow that were washed; which shews that they had been washed, but were turned into the mire again. And the apostle Paul had a judgment upon such with their fair words and men's wisdom, that deceived the hearts of the simple; and upon such as served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and were enemies to the cross of Christ. And therefore he had a judgment and discerning who lived in the cross of Christ, and who did not; and exhorted all to live in the cross of Christ, the righteous power of God, that slew all deceit, and the deeds of the old man: agreeable to Christ's words, "He that will be my disciple, must take up my cross, and follow me." And was not here a judgment again in divine matters, and of such as walk in the divine power, and such as did not?

'And Christ sets up a judgment in his seven churches, and commends them that did keep in his judgment, and had tried them which said they were apostles, which might pretend they were sent of God and Christ, and were not: but the church of Christ had found them liars. And Christ commended this judgment of the church of Ephesus, because they had not borne with them that were evil, but had tried those false apostles: and Christ commends this church, for that they had hated the deeds of the Nicholaitans, which he also hated: and had not these Nicholaitans sprung from Nicholas, one of the deacons? and were not these become a sect of Christians? though they might talk and preach of Christ, but Christ hated them.

'And likewise Christ saith to the church of Smyrna, I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, but are not, but are of the synagogue of satan. So the church is to have a judgment upon these blasphemers, and are to distinguish from the Jews in the spirit, and such as are not, but of the synagogue of satan.

'And to the church in Pergamos Christ had a few things against them, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrines of Balaam, &c. And also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicholaitans, which I hate. Now, these that held the doctrine of Balaam, and the doctrine of the Nicholaitans, were got into the church, and might have looked upon themselves to be high Christians, and took a great liberty to go into Baalam's doctrine, and Nicholas's doctrine, which was hated by Christ: but the church was to keep a spiritual and divine judgment upon the heads of all these.

'And to the church of Thyatira, saith Christ, "I have a

few things against thee, because thou sufferest t
Jezabel to teach, which seduces my people," &c.
was a suffering, which should have been a jud
Christ's Spirit, upon that Jezabel, which was e
his spirit, and so from Christ: and such as t
high preachers. And is not the church to beware
ing such now, lest they come under the reproof
for not passing to judgment against the false te
seducer?

‘And the church of Sardis, that had a name to
was dead, and their works were not found perf
God. Therefore here is a judgment to be set
church, to judge all imperfect works, and such
have a name, but not the nature, or a name to liv
dead: and therefore the living must be in Chr
Christ's church living members, and live to l
Though this church had a few names that had n
their garments, that did walk in white; but such
name to live, but are dead, whilst they are in
state, they cannot walk in white, nor judge in di
ters. “And behold, saith Christ, I will make th
synagogue of satan, which say they are Jews, bu
but do lie; behold, I will make them to com
worship before my feet.

‘And to the church of Laodicea, that was n
nor cold, but lukewarm; I would thou wert eith
hot: I will spew thee out of my mouth, because t
thou wast rich, and wanted nothing; when t
wretched, miserable, poor, blind, and naked.
was for want of living in the Power and Spirit o
these could talk of high experiences, and great en
but were naked, miserable, and blind; so lived i
power, and spirit, and light, and righteousness of t
which they might be clothed, and have the eternal r
the church of Christ had a spiritual judgment giv
that are faithful in his power and spirit, and light
of temporal things, and the things of this life; and
of eternal and divine things and states; and of a
wicked men, and such as go from truth; and of t
of election and reprobation; yea, and of the dev
are out of truth; being in Christ Jesus, who is the
last, from whom they have the eternal judgment,
eternal, spiritual, and divine things. And this
power and wisdom, by which all things were mad
which all things are upheld, in this word of w
order all things to God's glory, and to judge of a
in righteousness.

‘And the apostle judged and set up a judgment in the church of gifts, of prophecies, of mysteries of faith, and of giving the body to be burnt, and of giving goods to the poor, and of speaking with tongues of men and angels; and yet if they had not love, all this was nothing; but as a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. Therefore they are to be tried by the fruits of the good spirit, which is love. So here the apostle not only judged himself in divine matters, but set up a judgment in the church in those spiritual and divine matters.

‘And the apostle James here judges of fountains, and of the fig-trees, and of the wisdom from below, and of the wisdom from above, and of the fruits of both, James iii. And Paul judged in divine matters, when he said, “The Spirit spake expressly, that in the latter times some should depart from the faith,” 1 Tim. iv. And he judged in divine matters, when he judged all those teachers that were high-minded, and had got the form of godliness, but denied the power; and termed them like unto Jannes and Jambres, which withstood Moses, coming out of outward Egypt; as these with their form of godliness oppose Christ and his power, that brings them out of spiritual Egypt now. And was not he a judge here in divine matters, who judged such as had gotten the form of godliness, but denied the divine power? 2 Tim. iii.

‘And when the apostle said, the priesthood of Aaron was changed, and the law was changed, and the commandment disannulled, that gave them their tithes, did not he judge here in divine and spiritual matters? and was not the law spiritual, which served till the Seed came?

‘And did not the apostle judge in divine and spiritual matters in the sixth of the Hebrews, where he saith, “Let us go on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, and of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment: and this will we do, if God permit,” &c. And so does not the apostle judge of such here, “that it was impossible for those who were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and had tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame?” Heb. vi. And were not these spiritual, eternal, and divine matters and states, the same judgment given unto them in the same spirit? Now have not the apostles and the church

a spiritual judgment to judge of prophets, mysteries, faith, apostles, angels, the world, and the devil? and is not this judgment given them of God in divine matters, besides the judgment given them in matters pertaining unto this life?

‘And had not they judgment to discern the true gospel from the false? and all such as had a profession of the form and did not live in the power? and such as spoke the things of God, in the words that man’s wisdom did teach? which things of God were not to be spoken in the wisdom which man’s word taught, but in the word which the Holy Ghost taught. And therefore did not the apostle exhort to know the power, and their faith to stand in the power of God? for the kingdom of God stood not in word, but in power.

‘And had not all the prophets a divine judgment to judge in divine matters? as see Jeremiah, when he judged the prophets. And Ezekiel judged all such as came with a pretence of the word of the Lord, using their tongues, and saying, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord never spoke unto them: as in Jeremiah the xxiii. and in Ezekiel the xiii. and in many other places might be instanced. And did not he judge Hananiah, who prophesied falsely? and did not this Hananiah pretend to speak the word of the Lord to the priests and people? as in Jeremiah the xxviii.

‘And did not Isaiah judge in divine matters, when he judged the watchmen and the shepherds? Isa. lvi. And did not Micah judge in divine and spiritual matters when he said he was full of the power by the Spirit of the Lord and of judgment? did not he judge both of priests, and prophets, and judges, though they would lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord amongst us, and no evil can come unto us; yet did not he let them see their state and conditions, and divided the precious from the vile Mich. iii. And so the rest of the prophets, you may see here, they judged for God in his divine matters, who served him, and who served him not; and who lived in truth, and who not; and likewise the apostles. And this divine, spiritual, and heavenly judgment was given of God to his holy men and women.

‘And they that do judge in God’s divine matters, must live in his divine Spirit, and power, and light now, as they did then; which spiritual and divine judgment Christ has given to his church, that be the living stones, and living members, that make up his spiritual household, to try Jews, and to try apostles, and to try prophets, and to try faith, and to try religions, and to try trees and fruits, and to try shepherds and teachers, and to try spirits. So the

living members have a living and divine judgment in the church of Christ, which he is the head of, the judge of all.

‘Nay, the church has a power given them, which is farther than a judgment: for what they bind on earth is bound in heaven by the power of God; and what they lose on earth, is loosed in heaven by the power of God: and this power has Christ given to his living members, the church.’

G. F. to Friends.

The 20th of the 12th month, 1685-6.

I came back to London in the first month, 1686, and set myself with all diligence to look after friends’ sufferings, which we had now some hopes of getting relief for. The sessions came on in the second month at Hicks’s-hall, where many friends had appeals to be tried; with whom I was from day to day, to advise and see that no opportunity were slipped, nor advantage lost: and they generally succeeded well. Soon after also the king was pleased, upon our often laying our sufferings before him, to give order for the releasing of all prisoners that were imprisoned for conscience-sake; and which were in his power to discharge. Whereby the prison-doors were opened, and many hundreds of friends, some of whom had been long in prison, were set at liberty; and some of them, who had for many years been restrained in bonds, came now up to the yearly meeting, which was in the third month this year: which caused great joy to friends, to see our ancient, faithful brethren, again at liberty in the Lord’s work, after their long confinements. And indeed a precious meeting we had; the refreshing presence of the Lord appearing plentifully with us and amongst us. After the meeting I was moved to write a few lines, to be sent abroad amongst friends: the tenor whereof was thus:

‘Dear friends,

‘My love is to you all in the holy Seed, Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent’s head, and destroys the devil and his works; and who hath all power in heaven and earth given him. Let every one’s faith stand in him, and in his power, who is the author and finisher of your faith. And now ye, who have been partakers of his power, and are sensible of it in this day of his power, that is over all, whose day and power is over darkness and its power; and by his power the hearts of the king and rulers have been opened, by which your outward prison-doors have been set open for your liberty. And therefore my desires are, that all may be preserved in humility and thankfulness, in the sense

of the mercies of the Lord ; and live in the peaceable truth, that is over all : that ye may answer God's grace, and his light and Spirit in all, in a righteous, godly life and conversation. And let none be lifted up by their outward liberty, nor let none be cast down by suffering for Christ's sake ; but all live in the seed (which is as wheat) which is not shaken, nor blown away by the winds and storms, as the chaff is. Which seed of life none below can make higher or lower ; for the children of the seed are the children of the everlasting, unchangeable kingdom of Christ and God. So in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given you for a sanctuary, God Almighty keep you, in whom ye have life everlasting, and wisdom, which is from above, pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, that ye all now may be exercised in it, and may practise this wisdom in your godly, holy lives and conversations ; so that this wisdom may be justified of all her children, and they (I say) exercised and preserved in it in this day of the power of Christ, in which all his people are made a willing people, to serve and worship God in righteousness and holiness, and in the Spirit and truth.

“ So that none may abuse the power of the Lord, nor grieve his Spirit, by which you are sealed, and kept to the day of salvation and redemption ; but always exercise yourselves to have a good conscience, void of offence towards God and towards all men, being exercised in holiness, godliness and righteousness, and in the truth, and in the love of it ; that ye may all study to be approved unto God in innocency, virtue, simplicity and faithfulness, and so labouring and studying to be quiet in the will of God in all conditions. “ And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus ; giving thanks to God the Father by him : ” that he who is over all, may have the praise for all his mercies and blessings, with which he doth and hath refreshed his people, and by his eternal arm and power hath kept and preserved his people to this day ; glory to his name over all for ever. Amen ! For Christ hath called you by his grace into one body, to him the holy Head ; and therefore live in charity, and in the love of God, which is the bond of perfectness in his body, which love edifies the body of Christ ; which body and all his members are knit together, and increased with the increase of God, from whom they receive nourishment. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been made all to drink into one Spirit, in which Spirit the body and all his members have fellowship with Christ, the Head, and one with another. And so the unity of this

Holy Spirit is the bond of peace of all the living member of Christ Jesus, of which he is the spiritual Head, Rock and Foundation. And in the midst of his church of living members Christ exercises his spiritual prophetic office, to open to them the mysteries of his kingdom; and is a spiritual Bishop to oversee them, that they do not go astray from the living God that made them; and a Shepherd that feeds them with bread and water of life from heaven, and none is able to pluck his sheep out of his hands; and he is a Priest that died for them, and sanctifieth them, and presents them to God; who ruleth in their hearts by the divine faith, which he is the author and finisher of. And his living members do praise God through Jesus Christ, in whom they have life and salvation, who reconciles them to God, that they can say they have peace with God through Jesus Christ; and so praise God through him that was dead, and is alive again, and reigns over all, and liveth for evermore, blessed for ever; Hallelujah. Amen!

'Greet one another with an holy kiss of charity; and this kiss of charity is above all the kisses of the world; for love and charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things. It envieth not, and charity vaunteth not itself, nor is puffed up, nor doth it behave itself unseemly; it rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth. And charity is not easily provoked, and thinks no evil, but suffereth long and is kind; and charity never faileth. I say, greet one another with this holy kiss of charity, and peace be with you all, that are in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation.'

G. F.

The 30th of the Third month, 1686.

I remained for the most part of this year in London, save that sometimes I got out to Bethnal Green for a night or two, and sometimes went as far as Enfield and thereabouts amongst friends, and once or twice to Chiswick, where an ancient friend had set up a school for the educating of friends' children; in all which places I found service for the Lord. And when I was at London, I spent my time amongst friends, either in public meetings (as the Lord drew me) or visiting friends that were not well, and in looking after the sufferings of friends. For though very many friends were released out of prisons, yet some remained prisoners still for tithes, &c. and sufferings of several sorts lay heavy yet on friends in many places. Yet inasmuch as many friends, that had been prisoners, were now set at liberty, I felt a concern upon me, that some

might look too much at man, but might eye the Lord therein, from whom deliverance comes. Wherefore I writ an epistle to friends, and sent it abroad to be read amongst them, as followeth :

‘ Friends,

‘ The Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and hath given a check to the informers : so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my desires are, that both liberty and sufferings, all may be sanctified to his people, and friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the seas, and allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in your jails and prisons, then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you (and unto some he made them as a sanctuary,) and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof, and that he was in all places ; who crowneth the year with his goodness. Psal. lxxv. Therefore let all God’s people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another in the glorious, peaceable gospel of life and salvation, which glory shines over God’s camp, and his great Prophet, and Bishop, and Shepherd is among or in the midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them ; so that you his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his work, and bruises the serpent’s head, is all God’s people’s heavenly foundation and rock to build upon ; which was the holy prophets’ and apostles’ rock in days past, and is now a rock of our ages ; which rock and foundation of God standeth sure. And upon this the Lord God establish all his people. Amen.’

G. F.

London, the 23th of the
Seventh month, 1686.

Divers other epistles and papers, relating to friends and truth I writ this year ; whereof one was by way of exhortation to friends to keep in unity in the truth, in which there is no division nor separation ; and thus it was :

‘Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom ye have all peace and life, and in him there is no division, nor schism, nor rent, nor strife, nor separation; for Christ is not divided, and there can be no separation in the truth, nor in the light, grace, faith and Holy Ghost, but unity and fellowship, and communion. For the devil was the first that went out of the truth, and separated from it, and tempted man and woman to disobey God, and to go from the truth into a false liberty, to do that which God forbade. And so it is the serpent now that leads men and women into a false liberty, even the God of the world, from which man and woman must be separated by the truth; that Christ the truth may make them free, and then they are free indeed. And then they are to stand fast in that liberty, in which Christ hath made them free, and in him (as I said before) there is no division, nor schism, nor rent; nor separation; but peace, and life, and reconciliation to God, and to one another. So that in Christ, male and female are all one; for whether they be male or female, Jew or Gentile, bond or free, they are all one in Christ. And there can be no schism, rent or division in him; nor in the worship of God in his Holy Spirit and truth; nor in the pure and undefiled religion, that keeps from the spots of the world; nor in the love of God that beareth and endureth all things; nor in the word of God’s grace, for it is pure and endureth for ever. Many, you see, have lost the word of patience and the word of wisdom, that is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and easy to be intreated: then they run into the wisdom that is below, that is earthly, sensual and devilish, and very uneasy to be intreated. And they go from the love of God that beareth all things, and endureth all things, and thinks no evil, and doth not behave itself unseemly; then they cannot bear, but grow brittle, and are easily provoked, and run into unseemly things, and are in that, that vaunteth itself, and are puffed up, and are rash, heady, high-minded and fierce, and become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal; but this is contrary to the nature of the love of God, which is kind, and endureth all things, and beareth all things. And therefore, all dear friends and brethren, dwell in the love of God; for they who dwell in love, dwell in God, and God in them. And keep in the word of wisdom, that is gentle, pure and peaceable, and in the word of patience, that endureth and beareth all things; which word of patience the devil, and the world, and all his instruments can never wear out; it will wear them all out, for it was before they were, and will be when they are gone, the pure, holy word of God, by

which all God's children are born again, and feed on the milk thereof, and live and grow by it. And so my desires are, that ye may all be of one heart, mind, soul, and spirit in Christ Jesus. Amen."

G. F.

Soon after this, finding those apostates, whom the enemy had drawn out into division and separation from friends, continued their clamour and opposition against friends' meetings, both monthly, quarterly and yearly, it came upon me to write another short epistle to friends, to put them in mind of the evidence and seal they had received in themselves by the Spirit of the Lord, that those meetings were of the Lord, and accepted by him, that so they might not be shaken by the adversaries. Wherefore I writ as followeth:

"My dear friends in the Lord Jesus Christ!

"All you, that be gathered in his holy name, ye know, that all your meetings for worship of God, and all your quarterly-meetings, and all your monthly-meetings, and all your women's-meeting, and all your yearly-meetings are set up by the power and Spirit of the Lord God, and witnessed by his Spirit and power in your hearts; and by the Spirit and power of the Lord God they are established to you, and in the power and Spirit of the Lord God you are established in them. And the Lord God hath with his Spirit sealed to you, that your meetings are of God's ordering and gathering, and he hath owned them, by honouring you with his blessed presence in them; and you have had great experience of his furnishing you with his wisdom, life and power, and heavenly riches from his treasure and fountain, by which many thanks and praises have been returned in your meetings to his holy, glorious name. And so he hath sealed your meetings by his spirit to you, and that your gathering together hath been by the Lord, and to Christ his Son, and in his name, and not by man. And so the Lord hath the glory and praise of them and in them, who hath upheld you and them, by the arm of his power, against all the opposers and backsliders, and their slanderous books and tongues. For the Lord's power and seed doth reign over them all, in which he doth preserve his sons and daughters to his glory, by his eternal arm and power, in his work and service, as a willing people in the day of his power, without being weary or fainting, but strong in the Lord, and valiant for his glorious name and precious truth, and his pure religion; that ye may serve

the Lord in Christ Jesus, your rock and foundation, in your age and generation. Amen.'

G. F.

London, the 3rd of the
Eleventh month, 1686—7.

A little after the foregoing was given forth, it came upon me to write something concerning the state of the true church, and of the true members thereof, which I did, as followeth :

Concerning the Church of Christ being clothed with the Sun, and having the Moon under her Feet.

' They are living members and living stones, which are built up a spiritual household, and are the children of the promise, and of the seed and flesh of Christ; and as the apostle saith, Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. They are the good seed, and are the children of the everlasting kingdom written in heaven; and have put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and they sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and so are clothed with the Sun of Righteousness, Christ Jesus, and have the moon under their feet, as Revel. xii. So all changeable things, that are in the world, and all changeable religions, and changeable worships, and changeable ways, and fellowships, and churches, and teachers in the world, are as the moon; for the moon changes, but the sun doth not change. And so the Sun of Righteousness never changeth, nor sets, or goes down; but all the ways, religions, and worships, and fellowships of the world, and the teachers thereof change like the moon. But the true church, which Christ is the head of, which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which church is called the pillar and ground of truth, whose conversation is in heaven; this church is clothed with the Sun, Christ Jesus, her head, who doth not change, and hath all changeable things under her feet. These are the living members, born again of the immortal Seed, by the word of God, and feed upon the immortal Milk, and live and grow by it. And such are the new creatures in Christ Jesus, who makes all things new, and sees the old things pass away. And his church and all his members, which are clothed with the Sun, their worship is in the Spirit, and in the truth, which doth not change; which truth the devil, the foul, unclean spirit is out of, and cannot get into this worship in Spirit and truth. And likewise the church of Christ, their religion

is pure and undefiled before God, that keeps from the spots of the world, &c. and their way is the new and living way, Christ Jesus. So the church of Christ, that is clothed with the Sun, that hath the moon and all changeable religions and ways under her feet, hath an unchangeable worship, religion and way, and hath an unchangeable rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, and an unchangeable High Priest; and so are children of the New Testament, and in the everlasting covenant of light and life.

‘ And now all, that profess the scriptures both of the new and old testament, and are not in Christ Jesus, the apostle tells them they are reprobates, if Christ be not in them. And therefore these, that be not in Christ, cannot be clothed with Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, that never changes. And they that be not of Christ, be under the changeable moon, in the world, in the changeable things, in the changeable religions and ways, and worships and teachers, and rocks and foundations. But Christ, the Son of God, and Sun of Righteousness, doth not change; in whom his people are gathered, and sit together in the heavenly places in him: and so are clothed with Christ Jesus, the Sun, who is the Mountain, that filleth the whole earth with his divine power and light. And so all his people see him, and feel him both by sea and land; so he is in all places of the earth felt and seen of all his. And Christ Jesus saith to the outward professors, the Jews, I am from above, ye are from below, or beneath; ye are of this world, to wit, that is beneath. And so their religions, worships, ways, teachers, faiths, beliefs and creeds are made of men, and are below, and of this world, that changeth like the moon; and ye may see their religions, ways, worships and teachers, they are all changeable, like the moon; but Christ, the Sun, with which the church is clothed, doth not change, nor his church; for they are spiritually minded, and their way, worship and religion is spiritual, from Christ, who is from above, and not of this world. For Christ hath redeemed you from the world, and their changeable rudiments and elements, and old things, and their changeable teachers, and from their changeable faiths and beliefs. For Christ is the author and finisher of his churches faith, who is from above, and saith, Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light: and it is given them not only to believe, but to suffer for his name. So this faith and belief is above all faiths and beliefs, which change, like the moon. And God’s people are an holy nation, a peculiar people, a spiritual household, and royal priesthood, offering up spiritual sacrifice to God,

by Jesus Christ; and are zealous of righteous, godly, good works: and their zeal is for that which is of God, against the evil, which is not of God. And Christ took upon him the seed of Abraham; he doth not say, the corrupt seed of the Gentiles: so according to the flesh, he was of the holy seed of Abraham and of David; and his holy body and blood was an offering, and a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, as a lamb without blemish, whose flesh saw no corruption. And so by the one offering of himself in the new testament and new covenant, he has put an end to all the offerings and sacrifices amongst the Jews in the old testament: and Christ, the holy seed, was crucified, dead and buried, according to the flesh, and raised again the third day; and his flesh saw no corruption. Though he was crucified in the flesh, yet quickened again by the Spirit, and is alive, and liveth for evermore; and hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and reigneth over all: and is the one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. And Christ said, He gave his flesh for the life of the world: and the apostle saith, His flesh saw no corruption: so that which saw no corruption, he gave for the life of the corrupt world, to bring them out of corruption. And Christ said again, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life: for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. And he that eats not his flesh, and drinks not his blood, which is the life of the flesh, hath not eternal life. Now, as the apostle saith, all died in Adam; then all are dead. Now all coming spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ, the second Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and flesh gives all the dead in Adam life, and quickens them out of their sins and trespasses, in which they were dead; and so they come to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and so are living members of the church of Christ, that he is the head of; and are clothed with the sun, the Sun of Righteousness, the Son of God, that never changes, and have the changeable moon under their feet, and all changeable, worldly things and inventions, and works of men's hands; and do see the people, how that they do change from one worship to another, and from one religion to another, and from one way to another, and one church to another, and yet their hearts are not changed. And the letter of scripture is read by the Christians, like the Jews; but the mystery is hid: they have the sheep's clothing, the outside, but are inwardly ravened from the spirit, which should bring them into the lamb's

and sheep's nature. The scripture saith, All the uncircumcised must go down into the pit : and therefore all must be circumcised with the Spirit of God, which puts off the body of death, and sins of the flesh, that came into man and woman by their disobedience, and transgressing of God's commands. I say, all must be circumcised with the spirit, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, before they come up into Christ, their rest, that never fell, and be clothed with him, the Sun of Righteousness.'

G. F.

Towards the latter end of this year I went down to Kingston to visit friends there ; and stayed some time at my son Rouse's near Kingston. While I was there, I writ a paper concerning the falling away foretold by the apostle Paul, 2 Thess. ii. iii. Which paper was as followeth.

'The apostle saith, that there must be a falling away first, before the wicked one, and man of sin, the son of perdition be revealed, which betrayeth Christ within, as the son of perdition betrayed Christ without ; and they that betray Christ within, crucify to themselves Christ afresh, and put him to open shame. Before the apostles deceased, this man of sin and son of perdition was revealed : for they saw the antichrist come, and false prophets, and false apostles, and deceivers come, having a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof. They saw the wolves dressed in the sheep's clothing, and such as went in Cain's, Corah's, and Balaam's way, and Jezabel's ; and the whore of Babylon, the whore of confusion, the mother of harlots, and such as were enemies to the cross of Christ, that served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies. These Christ saw should come, and said, If it were possible, they should deceive the Elect ; and commanded his followers not to go after them : and the apostle said, Turn away from such ; and Christ and his apostles warned the church of Christ of such. And now in this day of Christ, and his gospel, after the long night of apostacy from the light, and grace, and truth, and life and spirit of Christ Jesus, the son of perdition, the wicked one, the man of sin, is revealed again ; and the inwardly ravening wolves in sheep's clothing, and the spirit of Cain, Corah, Balaam, Jezabel, the artichrists, false prophets, and false apostles, and such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, who serve not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies ; and crucify Christ to themselves, and put him to open shame. This spirit have we seen in this gospel-day of Christ : but Christ will consume

them with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy them with the brightness of his coming. But God's people, whom he hath chosen unto salvation in Christ from the beginning, through the sanctification of the spirit, and the belief of the truth, stand stedfast in Christ Jesus; and are thankful to God, by and through his Son, their rock and salvation, who is their happiness, and eternal inheritance.

'The apostle saith, "Ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." So, when people are returned to Christ, their Shepherd, they do know his voice, and follow him; and are returned to the bishop of their souls: and then they do believe in him, and receive wisdom and understanding from him; who is from above, heavenly and spiritual. Then they do act like spiritual and holy men and women; and come to be members of the church of Christ: and then a spiritual care cometh upon the elders in Christ, that all the members do walk in Christ, and in his light, grace, spirit and truth, that they may adorn their confession and profession of Christ; and see that all do walk in the order of the Holy Spirit, and the everlasting gospel of peace, life and salvation. And this order keeps out of confusion; for the gospel of peace, the power of God was, before confusion was. And all the heirs of the gospel are heirs of its order, and are in this gospel, which brings life and immortality to light in them; by which all men and women may see their work and services in it, to look after the poor, widows and fatherless, and to see that nothing be lacking: and that all do honour the Lord in their lives and conversations.

'When the whole house of Israel were in their graves and sepulchres, and were called the scattered dry bones, yet they could speak, and say their bones were dry, their hope was lost (or they were without hope), and they were cut off: so that they were alive outwardly, and could speak outwardly. So that which is called Christendom, may very well be called the scattered dry bones, and they may be said to be in their graves and sepulchres, dead from the heavenly breath of life, and from the spirit and word of life, that gathereth to God: though they can speak, and are alive outwardly, yet they remain in the congregations or churches of the dead, that want the virtue of life. For the Jews, whom God poured his spirit upon, and gave them his law, when they rebelled against the Spirit of God, and turned from God and his law, then they came to be dry scattered bones, and were turned into their graves and sepulchres. And so Christendom, that is turned from the

grace, and truth, and light of Christ, and the Spirit, that God poureth upon all flesh, they are become the scattered dry bones, and are in their graves and sepulchres; and are the congregations or churches of the dead, though they can speak, and are alive outwardly.

‘ Christ saith, “ I am come, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly:” and he gave his flesh for the life of the world. And he saith, “ I am the resurrection and the life;” and, “ I am the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.” And Christ is the quickening Spirit: all being dead in Adam, they are to be quickened and made alive by Christ, the second Adam. And when they are quickened and made alive by him, then they do meet together in the name of Jesus Christ their Saviour, who died for their sins, and is risen for their justification; and so was dead, and is alive again, and liveth for evermore. And all, whom he hath quickened and made alive (even all the living) do meet in the name of Jesus, who is alive, and he, their living prophet, shepherd and bishop, is in the midst of them; and is their living rock and foundation, and a living mediator between them and the living God. And so the living do praise the living God through Jesus Christ, through whom they have peace with God. And so all the living have rest in Christ, their life; and he is their sanctification, and their righteousness, and their treasure of wisdom, knowledge and understanding, which is spiritual and heavenly. And he is the spiritual tree and root, which all the believers in the light (the life in Christ) that do pass from the death in Adam to the life in Christ, and overcome the world, and are born of God, are grafted into; even Christ, the heavenly tree, which beareth all the spiritual branches or grafts. So these do meet in his name, and are gathered in him; and do sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, their life, who hath quickened and made them alive. And so all the living do worship the living God in his holy Spirit and truth, in which they live and walk. And into this worship the foul, unclean spirit, the devil, cannot get; for the holy Spirit and truth is over him, and he is out of it: this is the standing worship, which Christ set up in his new covenant. And they that are quickened, and made alive by Christ, are the living stones, and living members, and spiritual household and church, or congregation of Christ; who is the living head and husband. And they that are quickened, and made alive by Christ, are a living church, and have a living head; and are come from the congregations or churches of the dead in Adam, where death

and destruction talk of God, and of his prophets and apostles, in their wisdom, that is below, and earthly and devilish, and in the knowledge, that is brutish, and in the understanding, that comes to naught. For what they know, is natural, by their natural tongues, and arts, and sciences; in which they corrupt themselves. This is the state of the dead in Adam: but the quickened, and they that are made alive by Christ, do discern between the living and the dead.'

G. F.

Kingston upon Thames, the
12th Month, 1686—7.

While I was at Kingston, I writ also another paper, shewing that the Lord in all ages called the righteous out from amongst the wicked, before he destroyed them. Which paper here follows:

'Noah and his family were called into the ark, before the old world was destroyed with the flood of water: and all the faithful generation, that lived before, were taken away, and died in the faith, before that flood of destruction came upon the wicked old world.

'The Lord did call Lot out of Sodom, before he did destroy and consume it, and the wicked there.

'Christ said, "It cannot be, that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem:" and he said, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings! but ye would not." Luke xiii. 33, 34. And Christ said unto the Jews, "Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they shall slay and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation." Luke xi. 49, 50, 51. And Christ said to the Jews, "Behold your houses shall be left unto you desolate." Matth. xxiii. 34, &c. And Christ told his disciples, that the temple at Jerusalem should be thrown down, and there should not be one stone left upon another, that should not be thrown down. Matth. xxiv. 2. And Christ said to his disciples, that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the Jews, elders and chief priests, and be killed; and be raised again the third day: Matth. xvi. 21. And Christ said, "When ye shall see Jerusalem

compassed with armies, then know, the desolation thereof is nigh." And he foretold, that the Jews should fall by the edge of the sword, and should be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles. Luke xxi. 20. 24. Here ye may see, how Jerusalem was often warned by Christ, and how often he would have gathered them, but they would not, before they were scattered over or into all nations, and their houses left desolate, and their temple and Jerusalem besieged with armies, and destroyed, and thrown down. And though the disciples and apostles of Christ did meet, with the elders and church, at Jerusalem, after Christ was risen, yet Eusebius reporteth in his Ecclesiastical History, that the Christians at Jerusalem had a vision, or a revelation to depart out of Jerusalem. And they being forewarned also by Christ, that when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, its desolation was nigh; and that the temple should be thrown down, and not one stone left upon another; it is said, that the Christians did depart out of bloody Jerusalem, before it and the temple were destroyed by Titus, the emperor, who besieged it with his armies: who was of the Gentiles, and destroyed the temple and Jerusalem, as Christ had forespoken to his disciples, because of the wickedness of the Jews, and the innocent blood that they had shed in it. And so the Lord called his people out of bloody Jerusalem, before he destroyed it. And it is said, that Titus did destroy the temple and Jerusalem about two and forty years after they had crucified Christ, and he was risen again; and that with so great a destruction, that the Jews never did build again the city of Jerusalem, nor the temple (as Sodom was never built again, nor the cities of the old world): but the Jews for above these thousand years have been, and are a scattered people in all nations to this day; and Christ (whom they crucified) and his doctrine, is preached, and set over them: and the Gentiles, whom they hated, have received, and do receive him and his doctrine, and do praise God for it through Jesus Christ. Amen.

' And God called his people out of Egypt, after he had poured out his ten plagues upon the Egyptians; when he had destroyed the first birth of Egypt, then the Lord brought his people out of Egypt. And after the Lord had clearly brought his people out of Egypt, then the Lord destroyed Pharaoh, and all his hosts and chariots.

And John saith, that he heard a voice, saying, "Come out of her my people (to wit, out of Babylon, the false church), that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye

receive not of her plagues: for her sins have reached to heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities." Rev. xviii. 4, 5. Here ye may see that God did call his people out of spiritual Babylon, before the Lord destroyed her, and cast her down, to be utterly burnt with fire, ver. 8, 9, and 21.

'Was not Nebuchadnezzar's empire thrown down and ended by Cyrus and Darius, who were of the seed of the Medes, before Cyrus and Darius gave forth their proclamations for all the Jews to go into their own land, out of Babylon's captivity? And was there not a prophecy of Cyrus, that he should subdue nations, and that the Lord would loose the loins of kings before him, and break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron, and open the two-leaved gates; and that the gates should not be shut? And the Lord said, "This is for Jacob, my servant's sake, and for Israel mine elect." Isai. xlv. And was not this fulfilled in Cyrus's and Darius's time? For did not then the Jews go out of captivity into their own land. Ezra i. 2, 3, 4, and ch. vi. 1. and 12, and Isa. xlv. 28, and xlv. 13. And was not this prophecy of Isaiah fulfilled, when the children of Israel came out of Babylon? And were not the Assyrians, that carried away the ten tribes, subdued? and the Babylonians, that carried away the two tribes, were they not subdued in the days of Cyrus and Darius, in whose days the loins of kings were loosed, and the two-leaved gates of brass and iron were opened? and so had not Israel and Jacob their liberty by them in their days, to go into their own land?

'And here in England, was it not observed, that most of the honest and sober people were turned out of the army, and their commissions, offices and places taken from them, because they could not join with others in their cruelty and persecuting? And others laid down their commissions themselves, and came out from amongst those persecutors, before they were overthrown and brought to confusion. All that are wise see these things, and learn by such examples and way-marks to shun such bogs. And the righteous are safe, that do keep in Christ, their everlasting sanctuary, that changes not; in whom they have rest and peace with God. Amen.'

G. F.

Kingston, the 29th of the
Twelfth month, 1686.

While I was at Kingston, one day, as I was meditating on the things of God, some particular observations arose

in my mind, concerning the first, and the second or last, Adam. As that—

‘The first man Adam was made on the sixth day of the week; and Christ, the second Adam, was crucified on the sixth day of the week.

‘The first Adam was betrayed by the serpent in the garden of Eden; and Christ our Saviour, the second Adam, was betrayed by Judas in a garden near Jerusalem.

‘Christ arose from the dead on the first-day of the week, and they that do believe on him are entered into Christ, their rest; the Christians do meet together to worship God on the first-day of the week; and on the first-day of the week it was, that God said, “Let there be light,” and there was light. The Jews’ rest was on the seventh-day of the week, which was given to the Jews, as a sign of the eternal rest of the Lord, sanctifying them after they came out of the land of Egypt; for before that time the Lord had not given to man and woman his outward sabbath-day to keep, neither in the old world, nor after in Abraham’s time, nor in Isaac’s, nor in Jacob’s time; until the Jews came out of Egypt to mount Sina in the wilderness. And then, there the Lord gave the law and his sabbath, as a sign in the old covenant, of Christ the eternal rest in the new covenant; and they that believe, do enter into Christ, their rest.

‘Adam the first man, is the root from whence we all spring naturally; and Christ is called the last, or second Adam, because he is the beginning and root of all them that are spiritual.

‘The first Adam was made a living soul; and Christ, the last Adam, was made a quickening spirit.

‘Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might all come into favour with God; and that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.’

I writ also a paper there, concerning the two seeds, distinguishing the seed wherein the blessing is received, from the seed which the curse remains upon. Of that paper the following is a copy:

‘The Lord said to Abraham, “In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.” Gen. xxii. 18. “And thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven, and as the sand, which is upon the sea shore, and as the dust of the earth, that cannot be numbered.” chap. xiii. 16, and xv. 5, and

xxii. 17. Now, in this seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed; but not in the seed of evil-doers and of falshood, nor in the seed of the adulterer and the whore, Isa. i. 4, and lviii. 3, 4; "for the seed of the wicked shall be cut off," saith the Lord. Psal. xxxvii. 28. The Lord said to David, "That his seed should endure for ever." Psal. lxxxix. 36. And again it is said, Psal. cii. 28, "The children of thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before thee." Now ye may see, that here is a distinction betwixt the two seeds; for the seed of evil doers, and of the adulterer and whore, and of the wicked, shall be cut off; and so it is not blessed. But Christ bruises the head of the serpent, and his seed, which he soweth in them, that do disobey and transgress God's command, and rebel against God's good Spirit. This wicked seed of the serpent is curst, and is an enemy to the seed in whom all are blessed; but Christ bruises the head of this cursed seed of enmity, and destroys the devil and his works; and in his seed are all blessed, and all are in unity in this seed. And all the children of the seed are the children of the kingdom of God, and of Christ, and are blessed with faithful Abraham; and who are of the saving, divine, precious faith, are of Abraham, and walk in the steps of the seed and faith of Abraham, and are blessed with him, yea, all nations, and all the families of the earth.

'And the Lord said to Abraham, "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterwards shall they (to wit, God's seed) come out with great substance." Gen. xv. 13, 14. Here ye may see, that which afflicts God's seed, he will judge, and did judge; for he did destroy the first-birth of Pharaoh, and overthrew him and his host.

'And an holy man said, Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed or remnant, we had been as Sodom, &c. that is, destroyed and burnt. But in the seed, which destroys the devil and his works, and bruises the head of the serpent and his seed, are all nations and families of the earth blessed.

'Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham and of David; for he took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, in which seed all nations and families of the earth are blessed. And so they that are of his seed, are of the generation of Christ; and so are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. Now, all nations and families of the earth must be in this holy seed, if they have the bless-

ings and are blessed. And out of the mouth of this Seed's seed shall not God's word depart; but shall remain and abide in the mouth of this Seed's seed, in which they are blessed. Isa. lix. 21. So it is not the first-birth's talking of the words of Christ, the Seed, in whose mouth the word of God doth not abide, that makes an outward profession, like the Jews, that did kill and persecute the prophets, and crucified Christ the Seed and substance of the law and prophets, which the Jews professed in words, but they denied Christ, the seed and life. And all the Christians (so called) that do profess the scriptures in words, and are not in the Seed Christ, they are in the confusion, and are like the Jews; and so, neither Jews nor Christians are blessed, except they be in Christ, the Seed of Life.

‘But though Christ is said to be of the Seed of David, and of Abraham, as his generation is declared by Matthew and Luke; yet Christ was not born of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. For he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and not by the will of man, but by the will of God; born of the Virgin, and supposed to be the son of Joseph, but was the Son of God; and his name was called Jesus, because he should save his people from their sins; and Emanuel, God with us. And Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham (as I said before) and so was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; “and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.” Rom. i. 4. So the generation of Christ is a mystery. And Christ saw his seed or word to grow up in his disciples; and Christ in you, the hope of glory, the apostle calls “The mystery, which hath been hid from ages and generations; but now is made manifest to the saints,” or sanctified ones. Col. i. 26, 27. “Whom we preach; warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.” ver. xxviii. For in Christ, the second Adam, all are made perfect and complete; and in Adam in the fall, all are deformed and made imperfect; so out of Christ all mankind are imperfect and deformed: let them paint, and dress themselves with the sheep's clothing, and with the form of godliness, of the prophets’, and Christ's and his apostles' words never so much; yet if Christ be not in them, they are uncomplete, imperfect, deformed, reprobates. But the apostle tells the church of Christ, “Ye are complete in Christ, which is the head of all principality and power.” Col. ii. 10. (for he hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, Matth. xxviii. 18.)

And so all the saints are made perfect and complete in Christ Jesus; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever, through Jesus Christ. Amen, Amen."

G. F.

Kingston, the 15th of the
First month, 168⁶₇.

Quickly after this I returned to London, and continued there a month in the service of the Lord, being daily exercised either in public meetings, or more particular services relating to the church of Christ; as visiting such as were sick or afflicted, and writing books or papers for the spreading of truth, or refuting of error. Now as it was a time of general liberty, the papists appeared more open in their worship than they were formerly wont to do; and many unsettled people going to view them at it, a great talk there was of their praying to saints, and by beads, &c. Whereupon I writ a short paper concerning prayer, which was as followeth:

"Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, "When ye do pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c." Christ doth not say, that they should pray to Mary, the mother of Christ; nor doth he say, that they should pray to angels, or to saints, that were dead. Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead: neither did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to sing by outward organs; but the apostle said, he would sing and pray in the Spirit; for the Spirit itself maketh intercession; and the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the Spirit.

"To take counsel of the dead, was forbidden by the law of God; but they were to take counsel of the Lord: and he hath given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor and a leader to all his believers in his light. And men are not to run to the dead for the living; for the law and testimony of God forbids it. Those Jews that refused the running waters of Shiloh, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity; and they that refuse the waters of Christ, they are overflowed with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, their state was in the spirit of error and whoredom; and they were gone a whoring from God. Hos. iv. 12. And they that joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead,

provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them. Psal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may see, the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. The living know that they shall die, but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. Eccles. ix. 5. Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit, that they may add sin to sin. Isa. xxx. 1.

G. F.

When I had staid about a month in London, I got out of town again; for by reason of the many hardships I had undergone in imprisonments, and other sufferings for truth's sake, my body was grown so infirm and weak, that I could not bear the closeness of the city long together; but was fain to go a little into the cuntry, where I might have the benefit of the fresh air. At this time I went with my son-in-law William Mead, to his country house called Gooses in Essex (about thirteen miles from London,) where I staid about two weeks; and among other services that I had there, I wrote the following paper, being—

A Distinction between the True Offering and Sacrifice, and the False, in the Old and New Covenant.

'The Lord saith, "He that sacrificeth to any God, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." Exod. xxii. 20. So no God is to be minded, nor sacrificed to, but the Lord God: it is death to sacrifice to any other God, save the Lord. The Lord saith also, "Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread." Exod. xxiii. 18. So that sour heavy leaven, must not be offered with the Lord's sacrifice. And again the Lord saith, "Thou shalt not build an altar of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Exod. xx. 25. Therefore have a care of polluting the altar with your own tools, you that profess to offer the spiritual sacrifice.

'Jonah said, he would sacrifice unto the Lord with the voice of thanksgiving, when he was in the fish's belly; and there he prayed unto the Lord. Jonah ii. For Jonah in the whale's belly had no lambs, nor rams, nor outward sacrifices to offer.

'The Lord forbids his people to sacrifice with harlots, Hosea iv. 14. And the Lord forbids his people to offer sacrifice of the blind, lame, sick, or that which was de-

formed, or had any blemish; as in Mal. i. and many other places. So they that offer spiritual sacrifice, must not offer the blind, lame, blemished, or deformed sacrifice to God.

‘The scribe saith unto Christ, To love God with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices. Mark xii. 33. And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, “Thou art not far from the kingdom of God,” v. 34. Now ye may see, to love God, and their neighbour as themselves, was more than their whole burnt offerings and sacrifices in the time of the law: and therefore all offerings and sacrifices in the time of the gospel, if there be not love to God, and to their neighbour as themselves, avails nothing.

‘David said, “Let them sacrifice a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing.” Psal. cvii. 22. These are the sacrifices that the Lord requires of his people, more than outward sacrifices. And David said, “Let my prayer be set forth before thee, as incense; and the lifting up of mine hands, as the evening sacrifice.” Psal. cxli. 2. So here David looks upon his prayer to the Lord, and the lifting up of his hands to him, to be accepted with the Lord, as much as the outward incense, and the outward evening sacrifice. Again David says, “The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.” Psal. li. 17. (See also Isa. lvii. 15. and chap. lxvi. 2.) These be the sacrifices that David said God would accept, and not despise; which are beyond the unbroken spirit, and uncontrite heart, with outward offerings and sacrifices.

‘The adversaries of the Jews would have joined with them towards the building of the temple, saying unto them, “Let us build with you, for we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him.” But the Jews refused them, and said, “You have nothing to do with us, to build an house unto our God.” Ezra iv. 2. 3. So here ye may see that God’s people refused their building with them, and their sacrifice. And Solomon saith, “The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord.” Prov. xv. 8. (See also Isa. i. 11. and chap. lxvi. 3.) Solomon also saith, “Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than an house full of sacrifices with strife.” Prov. xvii. 1. Now let all people consider, what good your house full of sacrifices doth with strife, when a dry morsel, and quietness therewith is better? And consider all people, if ye live in wickedness, your sacrifice is an abomination to the Lord.

‘Again, Solomon speaking of the sacrifice of fools, saith, “They consider not that they do evil.” Eccles. v. 1. Fools are such, as do not walk in the Spirit of God; or begin in the spirit, and end in the flesh, like the foolish Galatians: for the Spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and cannot join with the sacrifices of the dead, nor of the fools, nor of the wicked, whose sacrifice is abominable; who grieve and quench the Spirit of God: by which Spirit of God the spiritual and righteous offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

‘The apostle Paul saith, he was the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, Rom. xv. 16. So ye may see, that all the acceptable offerings and sacrifices to God must be sanctified by the Holy Ghost. The same apostle saith to the Corinthians, “Ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God’s,” 1 Cor. vi. 20. And to the Romans he saith, “I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service,” Rom. xii. 1. Now this is the duty of all true Christians.

‘Peter also saith in his general epistle to the church of Christ, “Ye also as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ,” 1 Pet. ii. 5. So every man and woman must come to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, if they do offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. For as Christ saith, “Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,” Mark ix. 49. And in the old testament ye may see, all their outward offerings, they were to season them with salt, Lev. ii. 13. a type and figure of Christ, who gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour, Eph. v. ii. Therefore all his people must be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, that they may be salted with fire, and every sacrifice salted with salt, with the spirit of grace, that is poured upon all: so that they may offer up this spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

‘Samuel said to king Saul, “Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? behold, to obey is better than sacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of rams,” 1 Sam. xv. 22. So ye may see, all offerings and sacrifices are nothing, if there be not an hearkening to the Lord in his Spirit, and an obeying of his voice. And Christ told the Jews, that were

outward sacrificers, that he would have mercy, and not sacrifice : and bid them "Go and learn what that meaneth," Matth. ix. 13.

G. F.

Gooses, the 28th of the
2d month, 1687.

The beginning of the third month I returned to London, and continued there till after the yearly meeting, which began on the sixteenth of the same, and was very large, friends having more freedom to come up out of the countries to it, by reason of the general toleration and liberty now granted. The meeting lasted several days; and at the close thereof it was upon me to write the following lines, to be dispersed amongst friends every where, as—
A word of counsel and caution to them to walk circumspectly in this time of liberty.

‘ Dear friends and brethren in the
Lord Jesus Christ,

‘ The Lord by his eternal arm and power having supported you in all your sufferings, and great spoiling of goods, and tedious imprisonments, only for serving and worshipping the living God that made you; who gave up wife and children, and goods, and suffered the spoil of them, and imprisonment for his truth and name’s sake; and now the Lord, by his infinite power and mercy, having been pleased to open the king’s heart towards you, by which you are set at liberty from the gaols, and the spoilers of your goods are stopped, whereby ye may follow your callings and husbandry, and confess Christ Jesus, and call him Lord by the Holy Ghost, in your assemblies and meetings, without being cast into jails, or having your goods spoiled. And now, dear brethren, a great concern lies upon me from the Lord to write unto you, that none may abuse this liberty, nor the mercies of the Lord, but prize them; for there is great danger in time of liberty, of getting up and getting into ease, and looseness, and false liberty. And now seeing that ye have not the outward persecutors to war withal in sufferings; with the spiritual weapons keep down that which would not be subject to Christ; that he, the Holy One, may reign in your hearts. So that your lives, conversations, and words, may preach righteousness and truth; that ye may all shew forth good ensamples of true believers in Christ, in virtue, and holiness, answering that which may be known of God in all people, that ye are the sons and daughters

of God; standing fast in that righteous holy liberty in Christ, that just and holy one, that has made you free over the loose or false; shunning the occasions of vain disputes, and foolish questions of men of corrupt minds; for the serpent was the first questioner of Eve, who drew her and Adam out of the truth. Therefore as ye have received Christ, all live and walk in him, who bruises the serpent's head, who is your safe sanctuary, in whom ye have election, reconciliation, and peace with God. And therefore live in the peace which ye have from Christ, which is not of this world; and be at peace one with another, and seek the peace of all men in Christ Jesus; for blessed are the peace-makers. And labour to exercise a good conscience towards God, in obedience to him in what he requires; and in doing to all men the thing that is just and honest in your conversations and words, giving no offence to Jew nor Gentile, nor to the church of God. So that ye may be as a city set on God's Sion-hill, which cannot be hid; and may be lights to the dark world, that they may see your good fruits and works righteous and holy, and glorify your Father, which is in heaven; for he is glorified in your bringing forth good fruits, as ye abide in Christ, the vine, in this his day of life, power, and light, that shines over all. And therefore all you that believe in the light, walk in the light, as children of the light, and of Christ's everlasting day; that in the light ye may have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and one with another: keeping in the unity of his holy Spirit, in the bond of his holy peace, in his church that he is head of. And my desire is, that God's wisdom every where may be justified of her children, and that it may be shewed forth in meekness, and in the fear of the Lord in this his day. Amen.'

G. F.

By that time the yearly meeting was over, I was very much wearied and spent; wherefore about a week after the meeting I got out of town to a friend's house a little beyond Edmonton, where, and at South-street, I abode some time, and had meetings amongst friends there, and at Winchmore-hill and Berry-street. And having my mind continually exercised in the things of God, the sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to mankind, in visiting them, after they had transgressed and rebelled against him, and providing a way and means for their return to him again, was very much upon me, and in the opening of the spirit of truth I writ the following paper on that subject:

‘ God, who made all men and women, though they have transgressed his commands and laws, and rebelled against him, and bated his light, and grieved his spirit, and walked despitefully against his spirit of grace ; yet God, who is merciful, would have all to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. And all that come to the knowledge of the truth, must know it in their inward parts ; I say, the grace and truth, which comes by Jesus, all that do know and find, do know and find it in their hearts and inward parts. And such do find the hidden man of the heart, and the pearl, and the leaven, and the lost piece of silver, and the kingdom of heaven within. For until all come to the light and truth in their hearts, they have been strangers to these things, in Adam in the fall, from the image of God, and his light, power, and spirit, and kingdom. But Christ, that never fell, brings man and woman again, that follow him, to know these things, and to know the truth, him the Saviour, and brings them into his image, and his everlasting kingdom.

‘ The devil, who is out of the truth, tempted man and woman to disobey God, and so drew them into the fall from the truth. So it is the devil that hath stopped men’s eyes, and ears, and hearts, from the truth, who is called the God of the World ; who hath blinded the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Christ, who bruises the serpent’s head, and destroys the devil and his works, doth open men’s hearts, and eyes, and ears, who is their Saviour and Redeemer, and giveth life eternal to his people, that obey him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord for ever through Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam, and is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified of in due time. For as by Adam’s transgression and disobedience, death and condemnation came upon all men ; so by Christ’s obedience unto death, justification of life is come upon all men ; and he that believeth in Christ hath eternal life ; but he that doth not, is condemned already. But God would have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, who is their Saviour, and in him there is no condemnation.’

G. F.

After I had been a while here, I went to a monthly meeting at Enfield, and from thence with some friends to Hertford ; where I staid three or four days, visiting friends both at their public meetings on the first-day of the week, and at their quarterly meetings, both of men and women ;

and good service for the Lord I had amongst them. Then passing from thence to Waltham Abbey, I had a very good meeting with friends there: and the next day went from thence to another place to compose a difference, which, for want of a right understanding of each other, had happened between some friends. I returned to Waltham that night; and the next day went with some friends to Gooses, which is William Mead's house in Essex.

Here I staid some weeks, yet was not idle, but often visited the meetings thereabouts; as at Wanstead, Barking, and at John Hardings. And betwixt meeting and meeting I writ many things for spreading of truth, and for the opening people's understandings to receive it. One was a paper, proving from the scriptures, that people must repent before they can receive the gospel and the holy Spirit, and the kingdom of God, or be baptized. And this was it:

‘ John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, “Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,” Matth. iii. 2. And when John the Baptist was cast into prison, Mark says, “That Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: Repent ye, and believe the gospel,” Mark i. 14, 15. Matthew also says, “From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,” Matth. iv. 17. And when Christ sent forth his twelve disciples, two and two, they went out and preached, that men should repent, Mark vi. 12. Christ said to the Jews, “Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish,” Luke xiii. 3, 5. And when the publicans and sinners came to hear Christ, and the Pharisees and Scribes murmured, saying, “This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them,” Luke xv. 1, 2. Christ reproveth them by a parable, and then told them, “Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance,” ver. vii. And adds, “There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth,” ver. x. And Christ, after he was risen, said unto his disciples, “That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem,” Luke xxiv. 47. Peter said unto the Jews, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,” Acts ii. 38. And Paul said, “The times of this ignorance

God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent," Acts xvii. 30. Simon Magus was called to repentance, if he had regarded it, Acts viii. 22. And the apostle Paul did preach at Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles (turning them from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of satan to God) that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance, Acts xxvi. 20.

' Now here ye may see, that people must repent before they do believe, and are baptized, and before they receive the Holy Ghost, and the kingdom of God; and they must repent of their vain life and conversation before they do receive the gospel; and must be turned from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of satan unto God, before they do receive his Holy Spirit, and his gospel of life and salvation. The Lord doth command all men every where to repent, and do works meet for repentance: so they must shew forth that their lives and conversations, and tongues, are changed; and that they do serve God in the newness of life, with new tongues and new hearts.'

G. F.

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.

Another short paper I writ about the same time, shewing, wherein God's people should be like unto him. It was thus:

' God is righteous; and he would have his people to be righteous, and to do righteously. And God is holy: and he would have his people holy, and to do holily. And God is just: and he would have his people to be just, and to do justly to all. God is light: and his children must walk in his light. And God is an eternal, infinite Spirit: and his children must walk in the Spirit. God is merciful: and he would have his people to be merciful. God's sun shines upon the good and the bad, and he causes the rain to fall upon the evil and the good: so should his people do good unto all. God is love: and they that dwell in love, dwell in God. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law, Rom. xiii. 10. And the apostle saith, "All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," Gal. v. 14. "As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love," John xv. 9. This should be the practice of all God's people.'

G. F.

Gooses, the 6th month, 1687.

* And because most people would own and confess, that God's people should be thus, but few knew how to come to this state; therefore in the openings of the spirit of truth I writ another short paper, directing to the right way and means, whereby people might come unto Christ, and so be made like unto God. That was thus :

' Christ saith, " I am the way, the truth, and the life ; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me," John xiv. 6. And again, " No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him," John vi. 44. Now, what is the means by which God doth draw people to his Son, but by his Holy Spirit, who poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh (that is, all men and women.) And by this Holy Spirit the holy and righteous God doth draw people from their unrighteousness and unholiness, to Christ, the righteous and holy One, the great prophet in his new covenant and New Testament, whom Moses in the old covenant and Testament said, God would raise up, like unto him, and whom people should hear in all things: and they that would not hear him, should be cut off. Now they that do not hear the Son of God, the great prophet, do not mind the drawing of the Father by his Holy Spirit to his Son: but they that do mind the drawings of the good Spirit of the Father to his Son, the Spirit doth give them understanding to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. And then they do know that Jesus Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, and that none can come unto God but by and through his Son Jesus Christ, who is their shepherd to feed them at his pastures and springs of life; and his sheep do know his holy voice, in whom there was no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile; and an hireling they will not hear, for he careth not for the sheep; for they are not the hireling's, but Christ's, who hath laid down his life for his sheep. And he that robs and steals his neighbour's words, and climbeth up another way, and entereth not by the door, he is a thief and a robber: but Christ is the door into his sheep-fold, for his sheep to enter in by. And so they know that Christ is the bishop of their souls, to see that they do not go astray from God, nor out of his pastures of life: and they do know that Christ is their mediator, and makes their peace with God: and they do know that Christ is their high-priest, made higher than the heavens, and hath died for their sins, and doth cleanse them with his blood, and is risen for their justification, and is able to the utmost to save all that come to God by him.'

G. F.

Before I left this place I writ another paper, the scope whereof was to shew, by many instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that the kingdom of God, which most people talk of at a distance, and refer altogether to another life, is in some measure to be known and entered into in this life; but that none can know an entrance thereinto, but such as are regenerated and born again. Of that paper the following is a copy :

‘ Christ saith, “ Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,” John iii. 3. “ That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit,” ver. 6. (So, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, ver. 5.) And John, writing to the seven churches in Asia, calls himself their brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, Rev. i. 9. Here you may see, that John was in the kingdom; so he was born again: for he did not only see the kingdom, but was in it.

‘ And John saith, “ Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God: therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not,” 1 John iii. 1. And, “ Beloved, now are we the sons of God,” ver. 2. And, “ If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one, that doth righteousness, is born of him,” chap. ii. 29. And, “ Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God,” ch. iii. 9. Again John saith, “ Let us love one another: for love is of God: and every one that loveth, is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love,” ch. iv. 7, 8. Again, “ Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God,” ch. v. 1. And, “ Whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith,” ver. 4. Were not these, that were born of God, in the kingdom of God? And seeing, John says, every one that doth righteousness, is born of God, do not such see the kingdom of God that stands in righteousness, and enter into it?

‘ Peter, in his first general epistle to the church of Christ, saith, “ As new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby,” 1 Pet. ii. 2. And he tells them they were a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that they should

shew forth the praises of him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light, ver. 9. And that, as lively stones, they were built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, ver. v. Did not these new-born babes, these lively stones, spiritual household, royal priesthood, holy nation and chosen generation, who were called out of darkness into Christ's marvellous light, see, and enter into his holy kingdom, being heirs of the same? who were born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever, 1 Pet. i. 23. And had not such an entrance ministered to them into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

'James, in his general epistle to the church of Christ, saith, "Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom, which he hath promised to them that love him?" James ii. 5. The apostle Paul saith, "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, &c. to redeem them that were under the law; that we might receive the adoption of sons: and because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ," Gal. iv. 4, 5, 6, 7. The same apostle saith, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God:" and tells the saints at Rome, "Ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together (namely with Christ)," Rom. viii. 14, 15, 16, 17. Now seeing they are the sons of God, that are led by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit beareth witness unto their spirit, that they are the children of God, and heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, are not all these children of God heirs of the righteous, glorious kingdom of God? and do they not see it, and enter into it?

'The Lord saith in Hosea, i. 10. "Where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people; there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God." Did not this relate to the gospel days of the new covenant? see Rom. ix. 26. And what the Lord said by the prophet Jeremiah, ch. xxxi. 1. the apostle applies to the gospel-days, and says, "Be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a father

unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty," 2 Cor. vi. 18. Are not these the children that see, and enter into the righteous kingdom of God, that separate from that which is unclean, and touch it not?

'The Lord saith also by Isaiah, "I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my son's from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth. Isa. xliii. 6. Then doth not he bring them to his kingdom of glory, that stands in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost?

'And the Lord said to Job, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," Job xxxviii. 7, where did these sons of God shout for joy? Was it not in his kingdom of glory?

'Christ saith, "The least in the kingdom of God is greater than John," Luke vii. 28. And in chap. xvi. 16. he says, "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time (viz. since the law, and the prophets, and John) the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it."

"The good seed are the children of the kingdom," Mat. xiii. 38. "And the righteous shall shine forth, as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father," ver. 43. And Christ said unto his disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God," Mark iv. 11. And Christ lifted up his eyes upon his disciples, and said, "Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God," Luke vi. 20. And the apostles preached the kingdom of God. These were born again; that saw and knew the kingdom of God, and preached it.

'Christ said to his disciples, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom," Luke xii. 32. And, "I appoint to you a kingdom, said Christ, as my Father hath appointed to me," chap. xxii. 29. The Lord said, "He that overcometh, shall inherit all things: and I will be his God, and he shall be my son," Rev. xxi. 7. And John saith, "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one," 1 John ii. 14. And Christ, by whom are all things, is said "to bring many sons to glory." Heb. ii. 10.

'Christ said, "Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in," Matthew xxiii. 13. He also said, "Wo unto you, lawyers; for you have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in your-

selves ; and them that were entering in ye hindered ; Luke xi. 52. Christ gives unto his children the keys of the kingdom, his Spirit ; but the scribes, and the pharisees, and the lawyers, great professors, who were erred from the Spirit, like the great professors in our age that scoff at the Spirit, and draw people from the Spirit of God within, these shut up the kingdom from men, and draw people from the key of knowledge, and the key of the kingdom. For no man knows the things of God but by the Spirit of God ; for the things of God are spiritually discerned. So the Spirit is the key, by which the kingdom of God, and the things of God, are revealed and discerned, and known, according to 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 13, 14. The apostle names some in his epistle to the Colossians, and says " These are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God." Col. iv. 11. And he tells that church that " God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." Chap. i. 13. So ye may see these were born again that were translated into the kingdom of Christ, and were fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God.

" Christ exhorts his disciples to love and to do good, that they might be the children of their Father, which is in heaven, Matth. v. 45. And he bids them be perfect, even as their Father which is in heaven is perfect ; ver. 48. And the apostle saith to the church at Philippi, " That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life," &c. Phil. ii. 15, 16. And writing to the church of the Thessalonians, he puts them in mind how he had exhorted them that they would " walk worthy of God, who had called them into his kingdom and glory." 1 Thess. ii. 12.

" The Lord had promised by the prophet Joel, that he would pour out his Spirit upon all flesh, and that sons and daughters should prophecy, old men should dream dreams, and young men see visions ; Joel ii. 28. Now the cause that sons and daughters, hand-maids, servants, young men, and old men, have not these heavenly visions, dreams, and prophecies, is, because they are erred from the Spirit of God, which he poureth upon them : but as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God.

" John saith, Christ was the " true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," John i. 9 ; and that " As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God ; ver. 12. which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man,

but of God," ver. 13. Now, the reason why people do not become the sons of God, is because they do not receive Christ. The Jews, the great professors, which had the promises, prophecies, figures and shadows of him, they would not receive him when he came. And now the priests and high professors of Christ, they are so far from receiving the light of Christ, and believing in it, that they have hated the light, and scoff at it, calling it a natural conscience; and some have called it, jack in the lanthorn. Such are not like to become the sons of God, nor to see the glorious kingdom of Christ which stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For the light that shines in the heart gives the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus. And they that do not receive Christ Jesus, but hate his light (which is the life in him) and yet profess him in words, such neither know the children of the light, nor true fellowship in the light, nor the kingdom of God, that stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; but by the light they are condemned. "And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. For every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd." John iii. 19. 20. But the children of the light, that walk in the light, they come to heavenly Jerusalem, and to the city of the living God, and to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and church of the first-born, that are written in heaven, and can sing hallelujah!

G. F.

Gooses, the 2d of the
7th month, 1687.

Having now been somewhat more than a quarter of a year in the country, I returned to London, somewhat better in health than formerly, having received much benefit by the country air. And it being now a time of general liberty, and great openness amongst the people, I had much service for the Lord in the city; being almost daily at public meetings, and frequently taken up in visiting friends that were sick, and in other services of the church. I continued at London about three months; and then finding my strength much spent, with continual labouring in the work of the Lord, and my body much stopped for want of fresh air, I went down to my son Rouse's by Kingston, where I abode sometime, and visited friends at Kingston. While I was there, it came upon me to write a paper concerning the

Jews, shewing how by their disobedience and rebellion, they lost the holy city and land. By which example the professed Christians may see what they are to expect, if they continue to disobey and provoke the Lord. Of that paper the copy here followeth :

‘The Lord gave the Jews in the Old Testament the land of Canaan, and they built the temple at Jerusalem to worship in, and it was called the holy temple, and Jerusalem was called the holy city, and Canaan the holy land. But when the Jews rebelled against the good Spirit, which God gave them to instruct them, and rebelled against his law, and set up idols and images, and defiled the land and the city, the Lord sent his prophets to cry against them, and to bring them back again to his Spirit, and to his law, and so to God, to serve and worship him, that they might not worship images and idols, the works of their own hands. But instead of hearkening to God’s prophets, they persecuted them, and at last killed his Son Christ Jesus, and persecuted his apostles. But Christ told the Jews, that both their city and temple should be laid waste, and they should be scattered over all nations ; and it was so, when Titus the Roman emperor came and took Jerusalem, and destroyed the city and temple ; which was a day of vengeance upon the Jews for all their idolatries and their wickedness, and for the innocent blood they had shed, both in city and country ; and they were driven out of their own city and land, and scattered over all nations. And the Jews had never power to get the land since, nor to build Jerusalem, nor the temple ; but the Turk hath both the land of Canaan, and that which is called the city Jerusalem. Now, the Turk neither makes images, nor worships images ; and so it is a just hand of the Lord, that he should be over the persecuting idolatrous Jews, so that they cannot defile the land of Canaan now with images and idols, for the Turk hath it, who neither makes images, nor idols, nor worships them. And the Jews must never hope, believe nor expect, that ever they shall go again into the land of Canaan, to set up an outward worship at Jerusalem, and there for their priests to offer outward sacrifices of rams, sheep and heifers, &c. for burnt offerings ; for Christ, the one offering, hath offered himself once for all, and by this one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. And Christ hath changed the priesthood of Aaron, that offered sacrifices, which was made after the power of a carnal commandment ; but Christ was made after the power of an endless life, a Priest

for ever, who was holy and harmless, and separate from sinners, and is a Priest made higher than the heavens. This is the Priest that gives power to all that receive him, to become the sons and daughters of God; and Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of all the sons and daughters of God, which is free; but Jerusalem that is below, is in bondage with her children. And they that are the children of Jerusalem that is above, do not look down at Jerusalem that is below; but they look at Jerusalem that is above, which is their mother. Christ said, Neither at outward Jerusalem, nor in the mountain of Samaria should God be worshipped; but God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth; for he is a Spirit, and such he seeks to worship him. John iv. This is the worship that Christ set up above sixteen hundred years ago; and therefore the idolatrous Jews must never think to offer their outward offerings and sacrifices, nor set up their outward worship at Jerusalem, in the holy land of Canaan more. For Christ, by the offering up of himself once for all for the sins of the whole world, hath ended all the Jews' offerings, and changed the priesthood and the law, by which it was made; and hath blotted out the hand-writing of ordinances, which commanded both priests and offerings, and triumphed over them. And so he is the offering and sacrifice of all the children of the New Testament, and new covenant, and heavenly new Jerusalem, that is above; and he is their Prophet that openeth to them; and Shepherd that feeds them; and Bishop that oversees them; and Priest that died for their sins, and is risen for their justification, and sanctifies them and presents them to God. So he is the one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the Man Christ Jesus.'

G. F.

Kingston, the 9th of the
Tenth month, 1687.

After this I went from Kingston to Guildford to visit friends there, and staid three days with them; and had a large and very good meeting there on the first-day of the week. After which I came back to Kingston again, and tarried there about two weeks longer, visiting friends, and having meetings amongst them, both at their public meeting-house and in their families. Many things I writ while I was now at Kingston; amongst which the following paper was one:

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish,

(mark, not perish) but have everlasting life." John iii. 16. And again he saith, "He that believeth on the Son of God, hath (mark, hath) everlasting life." ver 36. So these believers have everlasting life while they are upon the earth. And he that believeth on Christ is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already, and the wrath of God abideth on him. And, "He that heareth Christ's word, and believeth on God that sent him, hath (mark, hath) everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death (the death in the first Adam) to life (the life in Christ the second Adam)." John v. 24. And that meat which Christ doth give, endureth unto everlasting life, as in John vi. 27. And the water that Christ doth give, shall be in him that drinks it, a well of water springing up into everlasting life. John iv 14. Christ said to the Jews, "Search the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life." John v. 39, 40. Here ye may see the eternal life is to be found in Christ, and not in the scriptures, which testify of him, the Life. Christ's sheep that hear his voice, and know and follow him, he gives unto them eternal life; and they shall not perish, neither shall any pluck them out of his hand. They shall not pluck Christ's sheep, to whom he hath given eternal life, out of his eternal hand. Christ said to Martha, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead (mark, though he were dead) yet shall he live; (mark, live, though he were dead) and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. Believeest thou this? Martha said, Yea, Lord." John xxv. 26. This is the true and substantial belief, which they that do believe, shall not perish, but have everlasting life. John saith, "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son." 1 John v. 11. "The life was manifested, and we (saith he) have seen it and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us." 1 John i. 2. So these were the believers, that had eternal life in the Son of God, and shewed it unto others. "He that hath the Son hath life, (saith John) and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life." 1 John v. 12. Christ saith, "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Matth. xix. 29. And the wicked that do not receive Christ, shall go into everlasting punish-

ment; but the righteous into everlasting life. And the true servants of God have their fruits unto holiness, and their end is everlasting life: for the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. And such have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Therefore I desire, that God's people may endure all things, that they may obtain this salvation, which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory, a glory which is eternal; for Christ being made perfect, became the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him. And this eternal salvation is above an external salvation; for they come to receive an eternal inheritance, and live in the possession of the everlasting gospel of joy, comfort, peace and salvation; having eternal and everlasting life in Christ Jesus, which shall never die.'

G. F.

Kingston, the 6th of the
11th month, 1687.

Another paper I writ there, concerning the Stone spoken of by Daniel, chap. ii, which became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; shewing, that thereby was set forth the kingdom and power of Christ:

'When Christ, the Stone, that became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, had broke to pieces the head of gold, and the breast of silver, and the belly of brass, and the legs of iron, and the feet, part iron part clay (which were the four monarchies, to wit, the Babylonian and Mede, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman) and had ended the outward Jews' typical kingdom; Daniel saith, "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed." Dan. ii. 44. Christ saith, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Matth. xxviii. 18. And he saith, "My kingdom is not of this world." John xviii. 36. And "Christ is the image of the invisible God, the First-born of every creature. For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." Col. i. 15, 16, 17. Here ye may see, all things consist by Jesus Christ, and all things were created by Christ, and for him, whether they be things in heaven, or things in earth, visible or invisible, they were created by him and for him; yea, thrones, dominions, or principalities, or powers, these were

all created by him and for him. So Christ is "King of kings and Lord of lords." Rev. xix. 16. And the "Prince of the kings of the earth." chap. i. 5. And out of his mouth goes a sharp sword, with which he shall smite the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessel of a potter shall they be dashed in pieces, who do not obey him, who is King of kings and Lord of lords. This is Christ, by whom all things were made, who doth rule the nations, who saith, "I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, the First and the Last:" so he is over all nations, and above them all. Now we must understand this rod of iron, by which Christ, who is the First and Last, doth rule the nations, is a figurative speech of Christ, who is ascended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God; yet all power in heaven and earth is given unto him, and all things were created by him and for him; so then they are Christ's, and he hath power over all things, for all are his. So as the scripture saith, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice." Prov. viii. 15. But if they abuse his power, and do not do justice, as is decreed by Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, the First and the Last, they must feel and know the weight of his rod of iron, by which he will rule such as abuse his power, and do not do justice (that is decreed by him) who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and rules in the kingdoms of men.

G. F.

Kingston, the 11th month, 1687.

Several other things I writ, while I was now at Kingston; for my spirit being continually exercised towards God, I had many precious openings of divine matters; and divers places of scripture, both in the Old Testament and in the new, relating to a state of regeneration, and sanctification, &c. were brought to my remembrance by the Holy Spirit; some of which I committed to writing, and were as followeth:

' They that touched the dead were unclean, and were to be cleansed by the water of purification. Numb. xix. And they which touch the dead doctrines or faiths, and let them in, burden the pure, and defile and make themselves unclean, until the spring of the water of the word do arise, and wash and cleanse them; for all the dead in Adam in the fall are unclean, and they must be washed by Christ, in his blood, and water of life, who quickeneth and makes alive.

‘A dwarf might not come near to offer upon God’s altar; but he might eat of the holy bread, that he might grow. Levit. xxi. 20, &c. So the new-born babes may eat of the milk of the word, that they may grow thereby and increase. And he that had any blemish, might not come near to offer upon God’s altar; neither might any thing be offered upon God’s altar, that had any blemish, or was unclean. Levit. xxi. And it is said, “The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.” Psal. i. 5. But “God standeth in the congregation of the mighty.” Psal. lxxxii. 1.

‘The camp of God was to be kept clean and holy; all that which was unclean, or defiled, was to be kept out of God’s camp in the old testament. And in the new testament, all that is defiled and unclean, must be kept out of God’s kingdom, the new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above. All was to pass through the fire (even of those things that would bear the fire) and to be purified by fire and water, before the people might come into God’s camp. Numb. xxxi. So all must be circumcised, and baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and be cleansed with the blood of Christ, and washed with the water of the word, before they come into the kingdom of God, and into heavenly Jerusalem.

‘The apostle Paul saith, “We know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house, which is from heaven, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.” 2 Cor. v. 1, 2, 4. Here is (we in the earthly house of this tabernacle,) which (we) are they that have received Christ, and are become the sons of God, and new creatures, and children of the light, that do believe in Christ’s light; who have an eternal house in the heavens, where mortality is swallowed up of life, in which house from heaven they will not groan.

‘And Peter said, “I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance, knowing, that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me.” 2 Pet. i. 13, 14. So Peter knew he must put off this tabernacle shortly; but as long as he was in it, he did stir up the saints to their duty in holiness, that they might remember it after he was deceased.

‘The apostle Paul saith, “The first man is of the earth, earthly,” (mark, earthly) 1 Cor. xv. 47. “And as we

have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly," (mark, the heavenly), ver. lxix. And, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7. "And I live (said he) yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," Gal. ii. 20. who is the life of all God's people.

' And Christ said to the Jews, "That the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: for he is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto him," Luke xx. 37, 38. So, "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself: for whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." Rom. xiv. 7, 8, 9. For all died in Adam: and Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might come out of the death in Adam, to the eternal life in Jesus Christ. Who is also a quickening Spirit: for as in Adam all died; even so in Christ shall all be made alive. So Christ, that died and rose again, is Lord both of the living and of the dead: for the living live to the Lord, and die in him, and are blessed.

' All Christendom say, that they do believe in God and in Christ, and that they do believe Moses and the prophets, and preach Christ, Moses, and the prophets: so their words and writings are preached and printed; and ye say ye do believe them. But now what life do ye live? Are ye through the law dead to the law, that ye may live unto God? And are ye crucified with Christ? and doth Christ live in you? And is the life, that ye now live in the flesh, by the faith of the Son of God, and ye do not live, but Christ liveth in you, who gave himself for you? Is this your present life? for the just live by the faith which Christ is the author and finisher of: by which holy, divine, and precious faith, they have victory over that which is vile and unholy, and is not divine; and in this faith they do please God, and have access to God and his Son, who fulfilleth the law and the prophets. For the law and the prophets were until John; and since that, the kingdom of God hath been preached, and men do press into it: and the least in the kingdom of God is greater than John, though he was the greatest prophet born of a woman. So see whether ye are in the kingdom that stands in peace

and righteousness, and joy, in the Holy Ghost, or not. Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, was before any creature; for by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he was before all things, and by him all things consist: and he is the head of the body, the church, and is the beginning, the first-born from the dead. So here ye may see that all things were made by Christ Jesus, and all things were created for Christ Jesus, and by him all things consist and have their being, who is the first-born from the dead, and dieth no more. And it pleased the Father, that in him all fullness should dwell; and by Christ to reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in heaven, or things in the earth. And in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who is the head of all principality and power; for all power in heaven and in earth is given to him, the first-born of every creature, and the first-born from the dead, who liveth for evermore in his power over all; the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world: and while the world's spirit rules in men's hearts, they do not know Christ, nor the beginning nor ending of the work of God. Christ was outwardly crucified and slain, without the gates of Jerusalem, by the disobedient Jews: and they that hate the light of Christ, and disobey his gospel, and quench his Spirit, and are erred from his faith, do crucify to themselves Christ afresh. So Adam and Eve, and their children, that disobeyed God, did slay the Lamb; and the blind Jews, that disobeyed God, crucified Christ Jesus: and the outward Christians, that live and walk not in Christ, but in sin and evil, though they do make an outward profession of Christ, yet they do crucify to themselves Christ afresh. But as to Christ himself, he is ascended far above all principalities, thrones, powers, and dominions, so that they cannot put him to death, or crucify him any more, as to himself: but what the killers, and crucifiers, and persecutors, do now upon the earth, it is against Christ, as in themselves, and in his members; as Christ said to Saul, "Why persecutest thou me?" Acts ix. 4. For what is done to his members, Christ takes as done to himself, Matth. xxv. 40, and 45. And they that did not visit Christ, but persecuted him in his members, they persecuted Christ in themselves first.

' The serpent, that enemy to man and woman; and satan, that adversary to man's prosperity; and the devil,

the destroyer, the god of the world and prince of the air, that ruleth in the hearts of the disobedient, he got in by disobedience. But Christ bruises his head, breaketh his power to pieces, and destroys the devil and his works; and through death destroys death, and the devil, the power of death. And so Christ, the light and life, hath all power in heaven and earth, and openeth the prison-doors, and the eyes of the blind, and takes captive him that hath led into captivity, and gives gifts unto men. And so Christ bindeth the strong man of sin, and spoils his goods (for Christ is stronger than the devil) and casts him out; hallelujah! For the strong man of sin is the god of the world, and his house is the whole world, that lieth in wickedness: and the god of the world hath kept his house, and his goods have been in peace, until a stronger than he comes, and binds the devil, and casts him out, and then destroys him and his goods. And so Christ, the Son of God, who is stronger than the devil, having destroyed the devil and his works, setteth up his house; and all the believers in the light are the children of light, and are of the Son of God's spiritual house, and the Son of God is over his house for evermore: glory to God in the highest, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

‘God spake by the mouth of all his holy prophets concerning Christ Jesus, his Son, the Holy One: so they were holy men, and not unholy, that God spake by. And therefore all that name the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are to depart from iniquity.’

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the
11th month, 1687.

I returned to London towards the latter end of the eleventh month, 1687, visiting friends in the way at Chiswick, and at Hammersmith, where I had two meetings, one upon a first-day, and the other upon the occasion of a marriage there, at which were many of the world's people, amongst whom I had a very seasonable opportunity of opening the way of truth.

Being come to London, I visited friends' meetings in and about the city, as the Lord led me, in whose service I continued labouring in the city until the middle of the first month, 1687 $\frac{1}{2}$. At which time I went down towards Enfield, and visited friends there and thereabouts, and at Barnet, and Waltham Abbey, and other places, where I had many meetings, and very good service amongst friends; in which I spent several weeks, and then returned to

London; where I continued labouring in the work of the gospel of our Lord, until after the yearly-meeting was over, which this year was about the beginning of the fourth month. A precious meeting it was, and a very refreshing season friends had together; the Lord vouchsafing to honour our assemblies with his living and glorious presence in a very plentiful manner. At the conclusion of the meeting I felt a concern upon my spirit to give forth the following paper, to be dispersed abroad amongst friends:

‘ All you believers in the light, that are become children of the light, walk as children of the light, and of the day of Christ, and as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid; and so let your light shine, that people may see your good works, and glorify your Father, which is in heaven. For a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: and therefore be ye trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, having fruits unto holiness, and then your end will be everlasting life. And such are the wells and cisterns, that hold the living water of life, which springs up in them to eternal life: so ye may all drink water out of your own cisterns, and running water out of your own wells, and eat every one of his own fig-tree, and of his own vine: having salt every one in yourselves, to season every one’s sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, and like unto the wise virgins, that have oil in their lamps, and follow the Lamb, and enter in with the bridegroom. And now is the time to labour, while it is day (yea, the day of Christ) and to stir up every one’s pure mind, and the gift of God that is in them, and to improve your talents, that Christ hath given you, that ye may profit; and to walk every one according to the measure that Christ hath given you, for the manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every one to profit withal. Now consider what you have profited in spiritual and heavenly things, with the heavenly Spirit of God; and be not like the wicked and slothful, that hid his talent, from whom it was taken, and he cast into utter darkness. And a dwarf, or one that had any blemish, was not to come nigh to offer upon God’s altar; and therefore mind the word of wisdom, to keep you out of that which will corrupt you and blemish you; and that ye may grow in grace, and in faith, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ: and feeding upon the milk of the word, may grow by it, that ye may not be dwarfs, and so to offer your spiritual sacrifice upon God’s holy altar. For the field or vineyard of the slothful grows over with

thorns and nettles, and his walls go down : such are they that are not diligent in the Spirit of God, and the power, which is the wall, a sure fence : and the Spirit of God will weed out all, both thorns, and thistles, and nettles, out of the vineyard of the heart. And you, that are keepers of others' vineyards, see that you keep your own vineyard clean with the spirit and power of Christ : and sanctify yourselves, and sanctify the Lord in your hearts, that ye may be a holy people to the Lord, who saith, Be ye holy, for I am holy : that ye may be the holy members of the church of Christ, that is clothed with the sun, and hath the moon under her feet ; the changeable world with all her changeable worships, religions, churches, and teachers. And be ye new and heavenly Jerusalem's children : for new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is above, is the mother of all the children of the light, and that are born of the Spirit, and these be they that have been persecuted, and have suffered by the false church, mystery Babylon, and mother of harlots.

‘ And now, all heavenly Jerusalem's and Sion's children, that are from above, labour in the gospel, the power of God, and the seed, in which all nations, and all the families of the earth are blessed : which seed, Christ, bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and overcomes the whore, the false church, and the beast, and the false prophet : and takes away the curse, and the veil that is spread over all nations, and over all the families of the earth ; and brings the blessing upon all nations, and upon all the families of the earth (if they will receive it) saying, In thy seed shall all nations and all the families of the earth be blessed. And this is the gospel of God preached to Abraham, before Moses writ his five books, and was preached in the apostles' days, and is now preached again ; which gospel brings life and immortality to light, and is the gospel of peace, life, and salvation, to every one that believes it. And so all nations, and all the families of the earth must be in Christ, the seed, if they be blessed, and be partakers of the blessing in the seed ; which gospel God did preach and reveal to Abraham, as in Gal. iii. 8. And this gospel was revealed and preached by Christ unto his apostles, who preached it, which is not of man, nor from man. And now, God and Christ hath revealed the same gospel unto me, and many others in this age, (I say, the gospel and the seed, in which all nations and families of the earth are blessed ;) in which gospel I have laboured, and do labour, that all may come into this

blessed seed, Christ, who bruises the head of the serpent, that in it they might have peace with God. And this everlasting gospel is preached again to them, that dwell upon the earth; and they that believe it, and receive it, receive the blessing, and the peace, and joy, and comfort of it; and the stability in it, and the life and immortality, which it brings to light in them and to them: and such can praise the everlasting God in his everlasting gospel.

'And friends all, seek the peace and good of all in Christ: for truth makes no Cains, Corahs, Balaams, nor Judases; for they come to be such that go out of the peaceable truth. And therefore walk in the peaceable truth, and speak the truth in the love of it, as it is in Jesus.'

G. F.

Sometime after the yearly meeting was over, I went to my son Mead's house, called Gooses, in Essex, and abode there some weeks, often visiting friends' meeting near there, and sometimes at Barking. And after I had been a while there, I went to visit friends at Waltham Abbey and at Hoddesdon, and about Enfield, South-street, Ford-green, and Winchmore-hill, where I had several very serviceable meetings amongst friends, the Lord opening many deep and weighty things through me, both for the informing the understandings of inquirers, and building up those that were gathered into the truth, and establishing them therein.

It was in the seventh month that I returned to London, having been near three months in the country for my health's sake, which now was very much impaired, so that I was hardly able to stay in a meeting the whole time thereof; and often after a meeting was fain to lye down upon a bed. Yet did not my weakness of body take me off from the service of the Lord, but I continued to labour in meetings, and out of meetings, in the work of the Lord, as the Lord gave me opportunity and ability.

I had not been long in London before a great weight came upon me, and a sight the Lord gave me of the great bustles and troubles, revolution and change, which soon after came to pass. In the sense whereof, and in the movings of the Spirit of the Lord, I writ a few lines, as—A general epistle to friends, to forewarn them of the approaching storm, that they might all retire to the Lord, in whom safety is. That epistle was as followeth:

‘ All my dear friends and brethren every where, who have received the Lord Jesus Christ, and he has given you power to become his sons and daughters; in him ye have both life and peace, and in his everlasting kingdom, that is a stablished kingdom and cannot be shaken, but is over all the world, and stands in his power, and in righteousness, and joy in the Holy Ghost, into which no unrighteousness, nor the foul, unclean spirit of the devil in his instruments can enter. And therefore, dear friends and brethren, every one in the faith of Jesus, that he is the author and finisher of, stand in his power, who has all power in heaven and earth given to him, and will rule the nations with his rod of iron, and dash them to pieces, like a potter’s vessel, that are not subject and obedient to his power; whose voice will shake the heavens, and the earth, that that which may be shaken may be removed, and that which cannot be shaken may appear. And stand in him, and all things shall work together for good, to them that love him.

‘ And now, dear friends and brethren, though these waves, and storms, and tempests, be in the world, yet you may all appear the harmless and innocent lambs of Christ, walking in his peaceable truth, and keeping in the word of power, and wisdom, and patience; and this word will keep you in the day of trials and temptations, that will come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. For the word of God was before the world, and all things were made by it; it is a tried word, which gave all God’s people in all ages wisdom, power, and patience. And therefore let your dwelling and walking be in Christ Jesus, who is called the word of God; and in his power, which is over all: and set your affections on things that are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God, (mark) on those things which are above, where Christ sits, and not on those things that are below, which will change, and pass away. And blessed be the Lord God, who by his eternal arm and power, hath gathered a people to himself; and by his eternal arm and power hath preserved his, faithful to himself through many troubles, trials, and temptations: his power and seed, Christ, is over all, and in him ye have life and peace with God. Therefore in him all stand, and see your salvation, who is first and last, and the amen. God Almighty preserve and keep you all in him, your ark and sanctuary; for in him you are safe over all floods, storms, and tempests; for he was before they were, and will be when they are all gone.’

G. F.

London, the 17th of the 8th month, 1688.

About this time great exercise and weights came upon me (as hath usually done before great revolutions and changes of government) and my strength departed from me, so that I reeled and was ready to fall, as I went along the streets. And at length I could not go abroad at all, I was so weak for a pretty while, till I felt the power of the Lord to spring over all, and had received an assurance from him, that he would preserve his faithful people to himself through all.

In the time that I kept in I writ a paper, shewing, how Moses, as a servant, was faithful in all his house, in the Old Testament; and Christ, as a Son, is over his house in the New Testament.

‘ The house of Israel was called God’s Vineyard, in Isa. v. 7. and all the Israelites were called the house of Israel. Israel signifies a prince with God, and a prevailer with men, Gen. xxxii. 28. And when Peter did preach Christ to the house of Israel, he said, “ Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made the same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ,” Acts ii. 36. So they were all called the house of Israel. And it is said, Moses was faithful in all his house (to wit, this house of Israel,) as a servant, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ, as a son, over his own house, which house are we, if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end, Hebr. iii. 5, 6. Here it is manifest, that Moses was faithful in all his house, as a servant. viz. in the house of Israel, in the Old Testament; but Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is over his house in his New Testament and covenant; and all his true believers are of his house. The apostle tells the Ephesians (who were the church of Christ) “ They were fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,” Eph. ii. 19. And the saints are called “ The household of faith,” Gal. vi. 10. And Peter in his general epistle, tells the church of Christ, they were a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, 1 Pet. ii. 9. And that as lively stones, they were built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, ver 5. And the apostle saith to the church of Christ at Corinth, “ If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,” 2 Cor. v. 1. And Christ said to his disciples, “ Let not

VOL. II. 2 c

your hearts be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; (a mansion is a dwelling, or abiding-place) if it were not so, I would have told you: I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also," John xiv. 1, 2, 3. The Psalmist saith, "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God: they shall bring forth fruit in old age; they shall be fat and flourishing," Psal. xcii. 13, 14. And again, "Holiness becomes thine house, O Lord, for ever," Psal. xciii. 5. Isaiah also said by way of prophecy, "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it," Isa. ii. 2. Is not that a great house? Now, is not this mountain, Christ, who is over his house in the New Testament and New Covenant? And to this mountain and house all the children of the New Testament and New Covenant flow in these latter days, so that it is come to pass, which was prophesied of by Isaiah: for he said, "Many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord," ver. 3, 4, 5. Here ye may see, they that come to the mountain of the house of God, and to God's teaching, they must walk in the light of the Lord; yea, the house of Jacob. Jacob signifies a supplanter: he supplanted profane Esau, who is hated, and Jacob is loved. Now these two births must be known within: and they that walk in the light of the Lord, and come to Christ, the mountain of the house of the Lord, established above all mountains and hills, they break their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: and in Christ, this mountain and house of the Lord, there are no spears, nor swords to hurt one another withal. And Christ, the Son of God, is over his house and great family, the children of the light, them that believe in it, and walk in it, who are the children of the day of Christ, and are of his holy and royal priesthood, that offer up spiritual sacrifice to God by him. All such

For talking of victuals and clothes, doth not clothe the body, nor feed it, except they have victuals to eat, and clothes to put on. No more are their souls and spirits fed and clothed, except they have the bread and water of life from heaven to feed them, and the righteousness of Christ to clothe them. So only talking of outward things and spiritual things, and not having them, they may starve both their bodies and their souls. Therefore quench not the Spirit of God, which will lead to be diligent in all things.'

With this I writ another short paper, shewing the hurt that they did, and the danger they run into, who turned people from the inward manifestation of Christ in the heart:

'The Jews were commanded by the law of God, "Not to remove the outward land-mark," Deut. xix. 14. And they that did so, or that caused the blind to wander, were cursed in the Old Covenant, Deut. xxvii. 17. In the New Covenant the apostle saith, "Let him be accursed, that preacheth any other gospel than that which he had preached," Gal. i. 8. Now the gospel that he preached, was "The power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth," Rom. i. 16. And the gospel that was preached to Abraham was, That in his seed all nations, and all the families of the earth should be blessed. And in order to bring men to this blessed state, God poureth out of his Spirit upon all flesh, and Christ doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; and the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth the Christians, the true believers in Christ; and God doth write his law in the true Christians' hearts, and putteth it in their minds, that they may all know the Lord, from the greatest to the least; and he giveth his word in their hearts to obey and do, and the anointing within them, so that they need not any man to teach them, but as the anointing doth teach them. Now all such as turn people from the light, spirit, grace, word, and anointing within, remove them from their heavenly land-mark of their eternal inheritance, and make them blind, and cause the blind to wander from the living way to their eternal house in the heavens, and from new and heavenly Jerusalem. So they are cursed, that cause the blind to wander out of their way, and to remove them from their heavenly land-mark.'

G. F.

I writ also a paper to shew, by instances taken out of the holy scriptures, that many of the holy men and prophets of God, and of the apostles of Christ, were husbandmen and tradesmen : by which people might see, how unlike to them the world's teachers now are :

‘ Righteous Abel was a shepherd, a keeper of sheep, Gen. iv. 2. Noah was an husbandman : and he was a just man, and perfect in his generation, and walked with God, Gen. ix. 20. and vi. 9. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was an husbandman, and had great flocks of cattle ; and just Lot was an husbandman also, and had great flocks and herds, Gen. xiii. Isaac also was an husbandman, and had great flocks and herds of cattle, and great store of corn, Gen. xxvi. 12, 14 : and the promise was with Isaac ; for the Lord said to Abraham, “ In Isaac shall thy seed be called,” Gen. xxi. 12. Jacob was an husbandman, and his sons keepers of flocks of cattle, Gen. lxi. 32, 34. and God loved Jacob. Moses kept sheep, Exod. iii. 1. and the Lord spake to him when he was keeping sheep, ver. 4, and sent him to Pharaoh, to bring God's people or sheep out of Egypt. And by the hand and power of the Lord, he and Aaron his brother brought them out of Egypt, a land of anguish, bondage, darkness, and perplexity. And Moses kept the Lord's people, or sheep, forty years in the wilderness ; a meek shepherd of God he was, and kept his great flock of sheep ; though some of them were scabbed with leprosy of contention and murmuring, and were destroyed in the wilderness.

‘ David (though he afterwards came to be a king) was a keeper of his father's sheep in the wilderness, 1 Sam. xvii. 15, 28. And the Lord God called him from the sheepcotes to feed his sheep, the house of Israel, and to defend them from the spiritual wolves, bears, and lions ; and he did it to purpose, who was a man after God's own heart.

‘ Elisha was a ploughman, 1 Kings, xix. 19. and he was called from the plough, that was outward, to teach God's people, the children of Israel, to plough up the fallow ground of their hearts, that they might bring forth seed and fruits to God, their Creator.

‘ And the word of the Lord came to Amos, when he was among the herdsmen of Tekoa, Amos i. 1. And Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, said to Amos, “ Prophecy not again any more at Bethel ; for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court,” chap. vii. 13. Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, “ I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son ; but I was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycas-

more-fruit : and the Lord took me, and I followed the flock. And the Lord said unto me, Go, prophecy unto my people Israel," ver. 14, 15. Here ye may see, how the Lord made use of a poor man, and how he called him from following the outward flock, and from gathering of outward fruits, to gather his fruits, and to follow his people or flock, the children of Israel.

' Christ called Peter and Andrew his brother, when they were fishing, and casting their net into the sea (for they were fishers), "and he said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men," Mat. iv. 18, 19. And likewise Christ called James and John his brother, when they were "in a ship, with Zebedee, their father, mending their nets; and they immediately left the ship, and their father, and followed him," verse 21, 22. And he gave them power (a net that will hold, and not want mending) and made them fishers of men, to fish them out of the great sea, the world of wickedness. And we read, that when Peter, and Thomas, and Nathaniel, and the sons of Zebedee and other disciples, went a fishing together, and that night caught nothing; and in the morning Jesus appeared to them and said, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find:" and they did so, and caught so great a multitude, that they were not able to draw them to the shore. And when thereupon one of the other disciples said unto Peter, "It is the Lord," Peter hearing that it was the Lord, girded his fisher's coat unto him, John xxi. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this was after Christ was risen. So here ye may see, Peter had not laid away his fisher's coat all this while that he had been preaching before Christ's death, and after he was risen.

"And Jesus saw Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom, and he said unto him, Follow me: and he arose and followed him," Mat. ix. 9. And Christ employed Matthew to gather his people, that were scattered from God; another manner of treasure than the outward custom of the Romans. Luke was a physician, whom Christ made a physician, whom Christ made a physician spiritual, which was better than outward.

' Paul was a tent-maker; and being one of the same craft with Aquila and Priscella, he abode with them at Corinth, and wrought (for by their occupation they were tent-makers), Acts xviii. 3. And did not Paul, and Priscilla, and Aquila, bring many to their heavenly tents, and to be settled upon Christ, the heavenly rock and foundation?

' Joseph, the husband of Mary, was a carpenter; and the Jews said of Christ, "Is not this the carpenter, the son

of Mary, &c." Mark vi. 3. The Jews meant only an outward carpenter, not knowing that Christ was also a spiritual carpenter, who doth build up the fallen estate of man and woman into the image of God, which they were first made in; and had shod them with the gospel of peace, the power of God, which will never wax old; and clothed them with fine linen, that never will wear out; and armed them with armour and weapons, that will never rust; which all the weapons of the wicked can never blunt nor pierce: the saints have tried it.' G. F.

Gooses, the 1st month, 1688-9.

It was now a time of much talk; and people too much busied their minds and spent their time in hearing and telling news. To shew them the vanity thereof, and to draw them from it, I writ the few following lines:

'In the low region, in the airy life, all news is uncertain: there is nothing stable: but in the higher region, in the kingdom of Christ, there all things are stable and sure, and the news always good and certain. For Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in earth given unto him, ruleth in the kingdoms of men: and he who doth inherit the heathen, and possess the utmost parts of the earth with his divine power and light, he rules all nations with his rod of iron, and dashes them to pieces like a potter's vessel; the vessels of dishonour, and the leaky vessels, that will not hold his living water of life: and he doth preserve his elect vessels of mercy and honour. And his power is certain and sure, and doth not change; by which he doth remove the mountains and hills, and shakes the heavens and the earth. And leaky dishonourable vessels, and the hills and mountains, and the old heavens and the earth, they are all to be shaken, and removed, and broken to pieces, though they do not see it, nor him that doth it: but his elect and faithful do both see it and know him, and his power, that cannot be shaken, and which changeth not.'

G. F.

The 5th of the 1st month, 1688-9.

About the middle of the first month, 1688-9, I went to London, the parliament then sitting, and being then about the bill for indulgence: and though I was but weak in body, and not well able to stir to and fro, yet so great a concern was upon my spirit on behalf of truth and friends, that I attended continually for many days, with other friends, at the parliament house, labouring with the mem-

keep upon their rock and foundation Christ Jesus, that stands sure in this time of the heat of the sun of persecution, which is hot upon you; who will not let you, nor suffer you to have so much as your natural houses to work and sleep in, nor meet, nor serve God in: and the Lord doth behold all such actors and their actions: and therefore look over all such actors and actions to him, who is able to deal with them, and reward them according to their works. And so God Almighty preserve you all in Christ Jesus, in whom you have rest, life, and peace. Amen.' G. F.

Southgate, the 28th of the 2d mo. 1689.

To the Magistrates of Dantzick:

Christian Shroder, President of the Council, and Emanuel Dilger, N. Gadecken, and N. Fraterus, Deputies of the Council, and the rest of the Magistrates and Priests.

'We have seen your order, and of your breathing out persecution against that little flock, the lambs of Christ, that lived under your jurisdiction in the city of Dantzick; and how that you have imprisoned and banished two by the hangman out of the government of your city: and others you threatened to do the same to, with great punishment, if they return. And likewise you threaten them with punishment that they rent their houses of, if they let them have their houses either to live in, or meet in to serve and worship the Lord that made them. Truly, I am heartily sorry for both your magistrates and priests, that go under the name of Christians, and shew such immoral and inhuman, unchristian actions, below the royal law of God, which is, to do to others as you would have them do unto you. For would you think it was moral, human, or Christian, or according to the law of God, if the king of Poland, who is of another religion than you, should banish you out of your city by the hangman, and call you murderers of souls: could you say, but this was according to the law of God, to do unto you, as you have done unto others? But if you say that you have the sword, and the horn, and the power; but blessed be the Lord that hath shortened your sword, and your power, and your horn, that it reaches no further than your jurisdiction of Dantzick; and you do not know how long God may suffer you to have your horn, and your power, and your sword. We are sure, you have not the mind, nor Spirit of Christ; and the apostle saith, "They that have not the Spirit of Christ, are none of his," as in Rom. viii. And Christ bids Peter put up his sword: they that draw the sword concerning him, to defend him

and his worship and faith, should perish with the sword. And Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword after; but said, their weapons were spiritual, not carnal; and they did not wrestle with flesh and blood. And Christ never gave forth any such command, that they should banish any by the hangmen that were not of their religion, nor would not receive it. Are not you worse than the Turks, who let many religions be in their country, yea Christians, and to meet peaceably? Yea, the Turkish patroons let our friends, that were captives, meet together at Algiers, and said it was good so to do: and at Sallee, those barbarous people, who do not profess Christianity, you are worse than they; for you profess Christ in words, but in works deny him. And did you ever know either in scripture or history, that any persecutors prospered long? And you are worse than they are in the Mogul's country, who, they say, permits sixty religions in his dominions: and many others might be mentioned, which you are worse than them all, in your cruelty and persecution of God's people, only for meeting together in the name of Jesus, and serving and worshipping God, their Creator. No, they must not breathe their natural air, neither natural nor spiritual in your dominions: I pray, where had you these commands from? neither from Christ nor his apostles. And do not you profess the scriptures of the new testament to be your rule? but I pray you, what scripture have you for this your practice? It is good for you to be humble, and do justly, and love mercy; and call home your banished, and love them, and cherish them: yea, though they were your enemies, you are to obey the command of Christ, and love them. I wonder, how you and your wives and families can sleep quietly in your beds, that do such cruel actions, without thinking the Lord may do to you the same. You cannot be without sense and feeling, except you be given over to reprobation without sense and feeling, and your consciences seared with a hot iron. But Christian charity doth hope that you are not all in that state, but that there may be some relenting or consideration of your actions among some of you, either according to the law of God, or his gospel.

‘From him that desires your temporal and eternal good, and salvation, and not destruction. Amen.’

G. F.

Middlesex, the 28th of the 2d month, 1688.

‘Peter, thou mayst translate this into high Dutch, and send them; and you may print it, if you will, and spread

it abroad; and translate that part of the letter that is to friends, into high Dutch, and send to them.'

Having staid in the country about three weeks, I returned to London a little before the Yearly Meeting, which was in the 3d month this year, and was a very solemn, weighty meeting; the Lord (as formerly) visiting his people, and honouring the assembly with his glorious presence, to the great satisfaction and comfort of friends. After the business of the meeting was over, it was upon me to add a few lines to the Epistle, which went from the meeting to friends, after this manner:

'Dear friends and brethren,

'Who have known the Lord's eternal arm and power, that hath preserved you upon the heavenly rock and foundation, and hath built your house upon it; you have known many winds, tempests and storms, that have risen out of that sea where the beast rose; and many raging storms, that have risen by apostates of several sorts; but the Seed that bruises the serpent's head, and is the foundation of God's people, stands sure. And therefore, dear friends and brethren, though there be great shakings in the world, the Lord's power is over all, and his kingdom cannot be shaken. And therefore all ye children of God, children of the light, and heirs of his kingdom, a joyful, peaceable habitation keep in; keeping out of all the heats, contentions and disputes, about things below. And lay hand on no man, nor no thing suddenly, lest they should be puffed up with that which fades, and so come to loss: but mind the Lord's power, that keeps open your heavenly eye, to see things present and to come; and in that ye will see and handle the word of life. And dear friends every where, have power over your own spirits. As God hath blessed you with his outward things, have a care of trusting in them, or falling into difference one with another about these outward things that are below, which will pass away. But all live in the love of God, and in that live in peace with God, and one with another: and follow the works of charity, and overcome the evil with the good to all. For what good have all the tinklers done, with their cymbals and sounding brass? They always bred confusion, and never did good in any age; tinkling with their cymbals, and sounding with their brass, to draw out the simple to follow them. And therefore it is good for all the children of God, to keep in their possessions of life, and in the love of God, that is everlasting. And as for all the tumults

the world, and the apostates from the truth, the Lord's power is over them all, and Christ reigns; and the Lord saith, "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper," Isa. liv. 17. And now friends, you are not insensible how many weapons have been formed against us, who are the sons and daughters of God; and the Lord hath restrained them, according to his promise; they have not prospered. And the Lord said, "Every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee, thou shalt condemn:" so God hath given such a power to his children, to condemn all the tongues that shall rise up in judgment against them, and this is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, their righteousness is of me, saith the Lord. And you are not insensible of the many tongues that have risen up against us in judgment, yea, of apostates and prophane. But in and with the truth, and the power of God, according to the promise of God, every tongue that riseth against thee thou shalt condemn. So it is not one tongue only thou shalt condemn, but every tongue that shall rise up in judgment against thee thou shalt condemn. So the Lord giveth this power to his servants and children, to judge the evil tongues, and he doth restrain the weapons formed against them, so that they shall not prosper against his children that he hath begotten: praises and honour be to his holy name for ever. Amen." G. F.

Soon after this meeting was over, the Yearly Meeting began at York; which because of the largeness of that county, and for the conveniency of friends in the northern parts, had for some years been held there. And inasmuch as there had been some hurt done in that place, as some division made there, by some that were gone out of the unity of friends, it was upon me to write a few lines to friends of that meeting, to exhort them to keep in the pure, heavenly love, which brings into and keeps in the true unity. And that which I writ was thus:

'Dear friends and brethren in Christ Jesus,
'Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath preserved to this day, all walk in the power and Spirit of God, that is over all, in love and unity; for love overcomes, and builds up, and unites all the members of Christ to him the head; for love keeps out of all strife, and is of God. And love and charity never fails, but keeps the mind above all outward things, or strife about outward things, and is that which overcomes evil, and casts out all false fears: and it is of God, and unites all the hearts of

his people together in the heavenly joy, concord, and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and settle and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation, in whom ye have all peace with God. And so walk in him, that ye may be ordered in his peaceable heavenly wisdom; to the glory of God, and the comfort one of another. Amen.

G. F.

London, the 27th of the Third month, 1689.

Being much wearied and spent with being at many large meetings, and in much business with friends, during the time of the yearly-meeting, and finding my health much impaired thereby, I went out of town with my daughter Rouse, to their country-house near Kingston, and tarried there most of the remaining part of the summer. In which time I sometimes visited friends' meetings at Kingston, and writ divers things for the service of truth and friends. Amongst those things that I writ there, one was an epistle to friends in Barbadoes, and it was as followeth :

To all friends in Barbadoes, that are convinced of God's truth.

' My desires are that ye may live and walk in his peaceable truth, and shew forth, that ye are children of the light and of the truth; for the heavenly, gentle and peaceable wisdom is justified of her children. But debate, strife, wilfulness, and laying open one another's nakedness and weakness, that is not heavenly wisdom's children's doing (but Ham's) nor from the Spirit of Christ, nor such as bite and tear one another; that is from a devouring spirit, and not from the Spirit of Jesus, which clothes and covers that which is uncomely, and can forgive. And now my friends, you profess that truth, which is beyond all the world's ways; therefore see, that you do excel them in the heavenly, gentle wisdom, that is easy to be intreated; for the wisdom of the world is not easy to be intreated, and sometimes will not be intreated at all. And now pray see, how you do excel the world in wisdom, in virtue, in kindness, in love that is over hatred, in meekness, and lowliness, and humility, and in sobriety, civility and modesty, and in temperance and patience, and in all that which is called morality and humanity (which will not act any thing below men or unmanly) and to shew forth true Christianity, and that ye are the converted and translated believers in Christ, dwelling in the love of God, that beareth all things, and endureth all things, and is not puffed up, and envies not. For they that be out of this love of God and Christian charity, are nothing, but as a tinkling cymbal :

brass, and are discontented, murmurers and complainers, full of doubts, questions and false jealousies. Keep that spirit out of the camp of God; for do not you read in the scriptures, both of the New and Old Testament, that the end of such was misery? Therefore in the love of God build up one another; for love edifies the body of Christ, and he commands his believers to love enemies, and to love one another; by this they are known to be the disciples of Christ. But to live in envy, strife and hatred, is a mark, they are no disciples of Christ: "For he that loveth not his brother, abides in death; and whosoever hates his brother, is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him. But they that do love the brethren, are passed from death to life." 1 John iii. 14, 15. And, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from God, that he who loveth God, loveth his brother also." chap. iv. 20, 21. Therefore love one another; for love is of God, and hatred is of the devil, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knows God. Now all are children of God by creation; and therefore in that state they are to love their neighbours as themselves; and to do unto all men, as they would have them do unto them. Secondly, God pouring his Spirit upon all flesh (or all men and women) all that are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God, and heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; and so are in fellowship in the everlasting gospel; and so are in unity in the Spirit, the bond of peace. And they that go out of this unity, and out of the bond of peace, and do not keep it, they break the King of kings peace; but they that keep in the unity, and fellowship in the Spirit, and walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, and with the Father and the Son. So it is not every one that talks of the light, and talks of the word, and of righteousness, and talks of Christ and of God, but he that doth the will of God. And therefore, my friends, all strive to excel one another in love, and in virtue, and in good life and conversation; and strive all to be of one mind, heart and judgment in the Spirit of God; for in Christ all are one, and are in peace in him. The Lord God Almighty preserve you in him, who is your holy rock and foundation, that is heavenly and stands sure; that ye may all be valiant for the truth upon the earth, and for the Lord and his glorious name, so that ye may all come to serve him in your generation, and in his new creation in Christ Jesus. Amen.

‘ And now, that you are come into so much favour with the magistrates and powers, that they let you serve the office of a constable, &c. without swearing or taking any oaths; hereby Christ’s doctrine and command, and his apostle’s is set up. And therefore I desire, that you may double your diligence in your offices, in doing that which is just, and true, and righteous; so that ye may excel and exceed all them, that are tied, shackled or bound by swearing or oaths to perform their offices; and you can do it at yea and nay, so say and so do; according to Christ’s doctrine and command. For Adam and Eve, by disobeying the command of God, fell under condemnation; and they that disobey the command of Christ, in taking oaths and swearing, go into evil and fall into condemnation. Matth. v. and Jam. 5. So my love in the Lord is to you all.’

G. F.

Kingston-upon-Thames, the 10th
of the Fifth month, 1689.

I staid at Kingston till the beginning of the seventh month; where not only many friends came to visit me, but some considerable people of the world, with whom I discoursed about the things of God. Then leaving Kingston, I went to London by water, visiting friends as I went, and taking Hammersmith-meeting in my way. And having recovered some strength by being in the country, when I was come to London, I went from meeting to meeting, labouring diligently in the work of the Lord, and opening the divine mysteries of the heavenly things, as God by his Spirit opened them in me. But I found my body would not long bear the city; wherefore, when I had travelled amongst friends there about a month, I went to Tottenham-high-cross, and from thence to Edward Man’s country-house near Winchmore-hill, and to Enfield; spending a matter of three weeks time amongst friends thereabouts, and had meetings at all those places. Then, being a little refreshed with being in the country, I went back to London, where I tarried, labouring in the work of the ministry, till the middle of the ninth month; at which time I went down with my son Mead to his house in Essex, and abode there all the winter. During which time I stirred not much abroad, unless it were sometimes to the meeting, to which that family belonged, which was about half a mile from thence; but I had meetings often in the house with the family, and those friends that came thither. Many things also I writ, while I was there; some of which follow here. One was an epistle to the quarterly and y

meetings of friends in Pennsylvania, New-England, Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, Carolina, and other plantations in America. And it was thus :

‘ My dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, who, by believing in his light, are become children of his light and of his day ; my desires are, that you may all walk in his light and in his day, and keep the feast of Christ, our passover, who is sacrificed for us, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but let all that be purged out ; that ye may be a new lump, keeping the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Therefore let no leavened bread be found in your houses, nor in your meetings, nor in the camp of God, or household of faith, which are the household of Christ ; but all that sour old leaven, which makes people’s hearts sour, and to burn one against another ; all that must be purged out of the camp of God, and kept out. For the feast of Christ, our passover, must be kept in the new covenant, with his heavenly, unleavened bread of life. The Jews in the Old Testament their feast was kept with outward unleavened bread : and now, in the New Testament, in the gospel-day, our feast is to be kept with the heavenly, unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Therefore friends, I desire you seriously to consider, and to keep this feast, which the apostle directed the church of Christ to keep. Do not you see Christendom, so called, keep their feasts with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness ? which makes them so sour, and their hearts to burn one against another, that they have destroyed, and do destroy one another about religion. Therefore all live in the love of God, which keeps above the love of the world ; so that none of your hearts may be choaked or surfeited with these outward things, or with the cares of the world, which will pass away : but mind ye the world and the life, that is without end, that ye may be heirs of it. And friends, you should strive to excel all, both professor and profane, both in morality, humanity and Christianity, modesty, sobriety and moderation, and in a good, godly, righteous life and conversation, shewing forth the fruits of the Spirit of God, and that you are the children of the living God, and children of the light, and of the day, and not of the night. And serve God in newness of life ; for it is the life, and a living and walking in the truth, that must answer the witness of God in all people ; that they, seeing your good works, may glorify our Father, which is in heaven. Therefore be valiant for

God's holy pure truth, and spread it abroad, among both professors and profane, and the Indians. And you should write over once a year, from all your yearly-meetings to the yearly-meeting here, concerning your diligence in the truth, and of its spreading, and of people's receiving it, both professors and profane, and the Indians; and concerning the peace of the church of Christ amongst yourselves. For, blessed be the Lord, truth doth get ground in these parts, and many are made very loving to friends, and the Lord's power and seed is over all; in which God Almighty keep all his people to his glory. Amen.'

G. F.

Gooses, the 28th of the 11th month, 1689.

While I was in the city, I had a concern upon my spirit with respect to a twofold danger, that attended some who professed truth: one was of young people's going into the fashions of the world; and the other was of old people's going into the earth. And that concern coming now again weightily upon me, I was moved to give forth the following paper, as a reproof to such, and an exhortation and warning to all friends to beware of, and keep out of those snares:

To all that do profess the Truth of God.

'My desires are, that you may walk in humility in it. For when the Lord first called me forth, he let me see, that young people grew up together in vanity and the fashions of the world; and old people went downwards into the earth, raking it together: and to both these I was to be a stranger. And now, friends, I do see too many young people that do profess the truth, do grow up into the fashions of the world, and too many parents indulge them; and amongst the elder, some are growing downwards, and raking after the earth. Therefore take heed, that you are not making your graves, while you are alive outwardly, and loading yourselves with thick clay (Hab. ii. 6.) For if you have not power over the earthly spirit, and that which leadeth into a vain mind, and the fashions of the world, and into the earth, though you have often had the rain fall upon your fields, you will but bring forth thistles, briars and thorns, which are for the fire. And such will become brittle, peevish, fretful spirits, that will not abide the heavenly doctrine, and the admonitions, exhortations and reproofs of the Holy Ghost, or heavenly Spirit of God; which would bring you to be conformable to the

death of Christ and to his image, that ye might have fellowship with him in his resurrection. And therefore it is good for all to bow to the name of Jesus, their Saviour, and that all may confess him to the glory of God the Father. For I have had a concern upon me, in a sense of the danger of young people's going into the fashions of the world, and old people's going into the earth, and many going into a loose and false liberty, till at last they go quite out into the spirit of the world, as some have done. Such their house hath been built upon the sand on the sea-shore, not upon Christ the rock, that they are so soon in the world again, under a pretence of liberty of conscience. But it is not a pure conscience, nor in the Spirit of God, nor in Christ Jesus; for in the liberty in the Spirit there is the unity, which is the bond of peace; and all are one in Christ Jesus, in whom is the true liberty. And this is not of the world; for He is not of the world. And therefore all are to stand fast in him, as they have received him; for in him there is peace, who is the Prince of peace; but in the world there is trouble. For the spirit of the world is a troublesome spirit; but the Spirit of Christ is a peaceable Spirit; and in it God Almighty preserve all the faithful. Amen.'

G. F.

Gooses, the 1st of the 2nd month, 1690.

Another paper that I writ while I was here, was concerning the ensign, which Isaiah prophesied the Lord should set up for the Gentiles, which I shewed was Christ. Of that paper this which follows is a copy :

'The Lord saith, "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Isa. xi. 9. And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious. ver. 10. "And he shall reign over the Gentiles, and in him shall the Gentiles trust." Rom. xv. 12. This ensign is Christ, which was prophesied of by the prophet, which prophecy the apostle, who was a minister to the Gentiles, sheweth was fulfilled in the New Testament. And in this day of Christ, Isaiah saith, "The Lord shall set his hand again the second time, to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria and from Egypt, &c. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah

from the four corners of the earth." ver. 11, 12. This is in the day of Christ, and his gospel of life and salvation, which is preached to every creature under heaven, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, both Jews and Gentiles; that by his heavenly divine light they may see Christ, their Ensign, and Captain of their salvation; so Christ is one ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles. And Isaiah saith, "The Redeemer shall come to Sion, &c." Isa. lix. 20. And, "This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, my Spirit, that is upon thee (to wit, Christ) and my words, which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever." ver. 21. "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." chap. lx. 1. "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light." ver. 3. "And the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee." ver. 5. (the sea is the world.) "The Lord shall be thy everlasting light." ver. 20. And, "Thou shalt call thy walls, Salvation, and thy gates, Praise." ver. 18. And the Lord saith, "I will make the place of my feet glorious." ver. 13. "Heaven is his throne, and earth is his footstool." chap. lxvi. 1. "And he that puts his trust in me, saith the Lord, shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain." chap. lvii. 13. Which mountain is established above all the mountains and hills. Isa. ii. 2. The Lord saith (speaking of Christ) "I have put my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles." Isa. xlii. 1. And he saith of him, "I will give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness, out of the prison-house. I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images." ver. 6, 7, 8. So Christ the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen; and the Gentiles are come to the light of Christ: and this prophecy of Isaiah concerning Christ, many of the Gentiles witness fulfilled, that "Salvation is come to the Gentiles." Rom. xi. 11. And God gave his glory to his Son; and Christ saith, "The glory, which thou gavest me, I have given them, (namely, his believers and followers) that they may be one, even as we are one." John xvii. 22. Now here you may see, how the promises and prophecies are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, whom God hath given for an ensign both to the Jews and Gentiles, and the Captain of their salvation; and he doth enlighten every one that cometh into the

world; that with his heavenly divine light they might see Christ, the Lord from heaven, their Captain and Ensign, and trust in him who is their conqueror, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works; and Christ and his followers overcome the dragon, beast and false prophet. And therefore all Jews, Gentiles and Christians, that come to believe in Christ, are to stand to their Ensign, Christ; who is also the Captain of their salvation, who is above all ensigns and captains below. For he is from above, and therefore all are to trust in him; for he is certain and able to save to the utmost, &c. and is the same Ensign and Captain to-day as he was yesterday, and so for ever, the First and the Last, the Beginning and Ending, and Lord of all lords, and King of all kings upon the earth; and there is nothing certain to be trusted in below Christ Jesus, who is from above. You see in the scriptures there were many ways and religions among the heathen, as there were many sects among the Jews when Christ came; and now there are many sects, or religions among the Christians, who believe from the scriptures that he is come, as the Jews believed he was to come. But they that close their eyes, and stop their ears to the light of Christ, they are not like to see Christ, who hath enlightened them, to be their Ensign and the Captain of their salvation, that see not with the heavenly eye, nor hear with the heavenly ear, to see and hear their heavenly Ensign and Captain of their salvation, to convert them and heal them; that they might follow him and be of his holy camp, and be his heavenly soldiers, to whom he gives spiritual arms and armour, the helmet of salvation, the breast-plate of righteousness, the armour of light, and the shield of faith (which will quench all the fiery darts of Satan, and give victory,) and the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, which shall cut and hammer down, and burn up all the strong holds of Satan. Also he clotheth his soldiers with fine linen, white and clean, his righteousness, and shoeth them with the everlasting gospel of peace, the power of God; which clothes and shoes will never wax old. And all that are shod with the everlasting gospel, the power of God, they will never wax old, but will stand all storms and tempests in the world. And they that are shod with the gospel, the power of God, can in it tread upon serpents, vipers and scorpions, and all the venomous beasts upon the earth, and all the thorns, briars, brambles, thistles, and sharp rocks and mountains, and never be hurt, nor never wear out their shoes, but their feet are always beautiful upon the mountains. Moses, a captain, the servant of the Lord,

said unto the people of Israel, "I have led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot." Deut. xxix. 5. Here ye may see the Jews in the Old Testament, their clothes and their shoes did not wax old; but they who are Christ's followers, whom he shoeth with his everlasting gospel of peace, and clotheth with his fine linen, his righteousness, and arms with his arms and armour, they are clothed, shod and armed, with that which will never decay, nor wax old, nor canker, nor rust, nor corrupt, nor grow blunt. Now all, (whether Christians, or Jews, or Gentiles) that hate the light of Christ, and close their eyes and stop their ears to it, are not like to see Christ their Ensign and Captain of their salvation, but are blind. And as there is no outward captain would list a company of blind and deaf men, and clothe and arm them with outward armour; so such as are blind and deaf, whose eyes are closed and ears stopped to the heavenly light of Christ, he is not like to clothe them with his fine linen, and arm them with his heavenly and spiritual armour; nor are they like to be spiritually and heavenly disciplined, and to see and know his holy and spiritual, living camp, nor to follow him while they are deaf and blind, and hate his light, which is the life in Christ, the heavenly Ensign and Captain of their salvation. For it is the light that shines in the heart, which gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus; who is the Ensign and Captain of men's salvation, and who hath brought, and doth bring many sons unto glory; praises, honour and glory be unto the Lord over all, who liveth for ever. Amen.'

G. F.

Gooses, the 14th of the 2nd month, 1690.

A week after this I returned to London; and after a little stay there, went down to visit friends at Kingston, where I staid not long, but came back to London, and remained there in the Lord's work, till after the yearly meeting, which was in the fourth month this year; in which the wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, and his blessed presence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom in and unto them, whereby many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of friends, and to the honour and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimously concluded.

After the meeting was over, I writ the following paper to friends, to be added to the epistle, which from the yearly meeting was sent into the several counties.

‘ All friends every where, that are alive to God through Jesus Christ, and are living members of Christ the holy head; be still, and stand still in the Lord’s camp of holiness and righteousness, and therein see the salvation of God, and your eternal life, rest, and peace; and in it you may feel and see the Lord’s power is over all; and how the Lord is at work in his power, and ruling the nations with his rod of iron, and is breaking (in the nations) the old, leaky vessels and cisterns to pieces, like the potter’s vessels, that will not hold his living water of life; who are erred from the Spirit. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, who by his eternal arm and power, hath settled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that stands sure; whom he hath drawn by his Spirit to his Son, and gathered them into the name of Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, full of grace and truth; who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. Whose name is above every name under the whole heaven; and all his living members know there is no salvation given by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; and he, their salvation, and their living head, is felt in the midst of them in his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, and his word of patience, wisdom, and power; who is his people’s prophet, that God hath raised up, in his New Testament and Covenant, to open to them; and their living Shepherd, that hath purchased, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood. And Christ, the living One, feeds his living sheep in his living pastures of life, and his living sheep know their living Shepherd’s voice, with his living bread and water, and follow him; and will not follow any of the world’s hirelings, nor thieves, nor robbers, nor climbers, that are without Christ, the door. And likewise Christ’s living children know Christ, the bishop of their souls, to oversee them with his heavenly and spiritual eye, that they may be preserved in his fold of life, and go no more forth. And also they know Christ, their holy priest, that by the grace of God tasted death for them, and for every man, and is a propitiation for their sins; and not for their sins only, but for the sins of the whole world; and by the one offering up of himself he hath perfected for ever, them that are sanctified. And such an high-priest becomes Christ’s sheep in his New

Covenant and Testament, who is holy and harmless, and separate from sinners, and is made higher than the heavens; who is not made a priest after the order of Aaron, with his tithes, offerings, &c. but he makes an end of all those things, and hath abolished them; and is made an high-priest after the power of an endless life, who ever liveth to make intercession for his people; and is able to save to the uttermost, all that come to God through him. Who is the one holy mediator betwixt God and man; and who sanctifies his people, his church, that he is head of, and presents them to God without spot, or wrinkle, or blemish, or any such thing; and makes them an holy, royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual, holy sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, who is King of all kings, and Lord of all lords in the earth. So an holy heavenly King, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and rules in all the hearts of his sheep and lambs by his holy, divine, precious faith, that is held in all the pure consciences of his people: which holy faith, Christ, the holy One, is the author and finisher of. By which holy faith all the just live; and in which holy, divine, and precious faith, all the just and holy ones have unity; and by it they do quench all the fiery darts of Satan: and by this holy, divine, and precious faith, they have access to the pure God, in which they do please him. And Christ, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, in his New Testament and New Covenant, is a minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man. And therefore all the lambs and sheep of Christ must feel this holy Minister in their temple and sanctuary, who ministers spiritual, holy and heavenly things to them in their sanctuary and tabernacle. For all the tabernacles and sanctuaries, that are built or pitched by man, men make ministers for them, and such ministers are of men and by men, with their worldly sanctuaries and tabernacles of men's pitching, by men's hands.

‘ And now, all dear friends and brethren every where, that are the flock of Christ: Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us all keep this heavenly feast of our passover in his New Testament and Covenant, not with old leaven, neither of malice nor wickedness; but let all that be purged out, with the sour old leavened bread, that all may become a new lump; and so keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly Passover, with the unleavened bread (mark, with the unleavened bread) of sincerity and truth. My desires are, that all the flock of

Christ every where may keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly passover, with his heavenly, unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen.'

G. F.

I staid in town between three weeks and a month after the yearly meeting was over; and then went into the country, first to Tottenham High-cross, where was a meeting on the first-day of the week, which I was at; and then went to Edward Man's house at Ford-green near Winchmore-hill; and on the first-day following went from thence to the meeting at Enfield, where the Lord gave me many precious openings to declare to the people. Afterwards, moving to and fro amongst friends thereabouts, I visited the meetings at Cheshunt, Waltham-abbey, Enfield, Tottenham, and Winchmore-hill, frequently; the Lord being with me, and opening many deep and weighty truths, divine and heavenly mysteries to his people, through me, to their great refreshment, and my joy. After some time I went to Hertford, to visit the friends there, and was at their meeting on a first-day. And having something more particular upon me to the ancient friends of that place, I had a meeting with some of them the next day, and imparted to them what the Lord had given me for them. Then passing thence to Ware, I made a little stay amongst friends there, and was at their meeting. After which, returning amongst friends about Edmonton-side and Tottenham, and taking meetings as I went, I came back to London in the end of the seventh month.

I remained now at London till the beginning of the ninth month, being continually exercised in the work of the Lord, either in public meetings, opening the way of truth to people, and building up and establishing friends therein, or in other services relating to the church of God. For the parliament now sitting, and having a bill before them concerning oaths, and another concerning clandestine marriages, several friends did attend the house, to see to get those bills so worded that they might not be hurtful to friends: in this service I also assisted, attending on the parliament, and discoursing the matter with several of the members.

Having staid more than a month in London, and much spent myself in these services, I went out of town to Tottenham, and sometime after to Ford-green, near London; at which places I continued several weeks, visiting friends' meetings round about there, at Tottenham, Enfield, and

Winchmore-hill. In this time several things came upon me to write ; whereof one was an epistle to friends in the ministry, and was as followeth :

‘ All friends in the ministry every where, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the gift of the ministry ; do not hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel, nor cumber yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world. For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the world, much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world, but are to mind the riches and glory of the world that is everlasting. And therefore stir up the gift of God in you, and improve it : and do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world, that will have an end, lest ye become idolaters. But be valiant for God’s truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the day-light of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and have received it and preached it ; which stands in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost : as able ministers of the Spirit sow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap life everlasting. And go on in the Spirit, plowing with it in the purifying hope ; and threshing, with the power and spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. For he that looks back from the spiritual plow into the world, is not fit for the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of God ; and then he is not like to press into it, as the faithful do. Therefore you that are awakened, and are come to righteousness, and to the knowledge of the truth, keep yourselves awakened in it ; then the enemy cannot sow his tares in your field ; for truth and righteousness is over him, and before he was. So my desires are, that all may fulfil their ministry, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath committed to them ; and then by the blood (or life) and testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it, within and without. And all you that do preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love : and all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of him, he gives them power to become the sons of God, and so joint-heirs with Christ, whom he calleth brethren ; and he gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing as a river up to eternal life, that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. So that all may be spiritual planters, and spiritual waterers ; and may see with the spiritual eye the everlasting eternal God, over all to

give the increase, who is the infinite fountain. So my desires are, that you may be kept out of all the beggarly elements of the world, which is below the spiritual region, to Christ the head; and may hold him, who bruiseth the head of enmity, and was before it was: so that ye may all be united together in love, in your head, Christ, and be ordered by his heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom, to the glory of God. For all that be in Christ, are in love, peace, and unity; and in him they are strong, and in a full persuasion: and in him, who is the first and last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory. Amen.'

From him, who is translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, with all his saints, a heavenly salutation: and salute ye one another with a holy kiss of charity, that never faileth.

G. F.

Ford Green, the 25th of the
9th month, 1690.

Another epistle I writ soon after, more particularly to the friends in the ministry that were gone into America; which was thus:

'Dear friends and brethren, that are ministers, and exhorters, and admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaways: stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents, that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon an hill, that cannot be hid: and let your light shine among the Indians, and the blacks and the whites, that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to their standard and ensign, that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. For from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, incense shall be offered up to God's name. And have salt in yourselves, that ye may be the salt of the earth, that ye may salt it, that it may be preserved from corruption and putrefaction; so that all sacrifices offered up to the Lord, may be salted and seasoned, and be a good savour to God. And all grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that ye may not be like dwarfs; for a dwarf shall not come near to offer upon God's altar, though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by it. And friends, be not negligent, but keep up your negroe's meetings and your family meetings; and have meetings with the Indian

kings, and their councils and subjects every where, and with others : and bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth ; for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol, which makes too many go out of the sense and fear of God ; so that some have lost morality and humanity, and the true Christian charity. O therefore, be awakened to righteousness, and keep awakened : for the enemy soweth his tares, while men and women sleep in carelessness and security. Therefore so many slothful ones go in their filthy rags, and have not the fine linen, the righteousness of Christ ; but are straggling, and plowing with their ox and their ass, in their woollen and linen garments, mixed stuff, feeding upon torn food, and that dieth of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating the sour, leavened bread, which makes their hearts burn one against another. But all are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. And this unleavened bread of life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, and lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's Spirit, which is the bond of (the Lord of lords, and the King of all kings, his) peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to spread it abroad both in doctrine, and good life, and conversation. Amen.

' All the members of Christ have need one of another. For the foot hath need of the hand, and the hand hath need of the foot ; the ear hath need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all the members are serviceable in the body, which Christ is the head of, and the head sees their service. Therefore let none despise the least member.

' And have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that raveneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world, lest ye fall into the low region, like the Gentiles or heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God, that is everlasting : but seek that first, and God knows what things ye have need of, who takes care for all, both in heaven and in the earth : thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gifts, both temporal and spiritual.'

G. F.

Not long after this I returned to London, and was almost daily with friends at meetings. And when I had been near two weeks in town, the sense of the great hardships and sore sufferings that friends had been and were under in Ireland, coming with great weight upon me, I was moved to write the following epistle, as a word of consolation unto them :

‘ Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power hath upheld through your great sufferings, exercises, trials, and hardships, (more, I believe, than can be uttered) up and down that nation, which I am very sensible of, and the rest of the faithful friends, that have been partakers with you in your sufferings; and cannot but suffer with the Lord’s people that suffer. And my confidence hath been in the Lord, that he would and will support you in all your sufferings; and that he would preserve all the faithful in his wisdom, that they would give no just occasion to one nor other to make them suffer: and therefore, if that you did suffer wrongfully, or unjustly, the righteous God would assist you and uphold you, and reward them according to their works, that oppressed or wronged you. And now my desire is unto the Lord, that in the same holy and heavenly wisdom of God ye may all be preserved to the end of your days, to the glory of God, minding God Almighty’s supporting hand and power: who is God All-sufficient, to strengthen, help, and refresh, in time of need. And let none forget the Lord’s mercies and kindnesses, which endure for ever: but always live in the sense of them. And truly, friends, when I consider the thing, it is the great mercy of the Lord, that ye have not been all swallowed up, seeing with what spirits ye have been compassed about. But the Lord carrieth his lambs in his arms, and they are as tender to him as the apple of his eye: and his power is his hedge about his vineyard of heavenly plants. And therefore it is good for all his children, to be given up to the Lord with their minds and souls, hearts and spirits, who is a faithful keeper, that never slumbers nor sleeps; but is able to preserve and keep you, and to save to the utmost: and none can hurt so much as an hair of your heads, except he suffer it, to try you; for he upholds all things, in heaven and earth, by the word of his power: all things were made by Christ, and by him all things do consist (mark, consist) whether they be visibles, or invisibles, &c. So he hath power over all, for all power in heaven and earth is given to him: and to you that have

received him, he hath given power to become the sons and daughters of God; so living members of Christ, the living head, and grafted into him, in whom ye have eternal life. And Christ, the seed, reigns, and his power is over all; who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, and was before he was. And so all of you live and walk in Christ Jesus; so that nothing may be between you and God, but Christ, in whom ye have salvation, life, rest, and peace, with God.

'As for the passages of truth in this land and abroad, I do hear that in Holland and Germany, and thereaways, friends are in love, unity, and peace: and in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Antego, Maryland, and New England, I hear nothing but friends are in unity and peace. The Lord preserve them all out of the world, (in which there is trouble) in Christ Jesus, in whom there is peace, life, love, and unity, Amen. So my love in the Lord Jesus Christ to all friends every where in your land, as though I named them.'

G. F.

London, the 10th of the
11th month, 1690.

Thus, reader, hast thou had some account of the life and travels, labours, sufferings, and manifold trials and exercises of this holy man of God, from his youth to almost the time of his death, of which himself kept a journal; out of which the foregoing sheets were transcribed. It remains that an account be added of the time, place, and manner of his death and burial, which were thus:

The next day, after he had written the foregoing epistle to friends in Ireland, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-street, which was large (it being on the first-day of the week:) and the Lord enabled him to preach the truth fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty things with great power and clearness. After which having prayed, and the meeting being ended, he went to Henry Gouldney's (a friend's house in Whitehart-court, near the meeting house:) and some friends going with him thither, he told them he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting; yet added, I am glad I was here: Now I am clear, I am fully clear.

As soon as those friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, through weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again; and in a little time lay down again, complaining still of cold. And his strength sensibly decaying, he was fain soon after to go into bed; where he lay in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. And as in the whole course of his life, his spirit in the universal love of God, was set and bent for the exalting of truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and peoples afar off; so now, in the time of his outward weakness, his mind was intent upon, and (as it were) wholly taken up with that: and some particular friends he sent for, to whom he expressed his mind and desire for the spreading friends' books, and truth thereby in the world, and through the nations thereof. Divers friends came to visit him in his illness; unto some of whom he said, All is well: the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though (said he) I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits. Thus lying in an heavenly frame of mind, his spirit wholly exercised towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in his natural strength; and on the third day of that week, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, he quietly departed this life in peace, and sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, whose blessed truth he had livingly and powerfully preached in the meeting but two days before. Thus ended he his days in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all men, on the 13th day of the 11th month, 1690, being then in the 67th year of his age.

Upon the 16th day of the same month (being the sixth of the week, and the day appointed for his funeral) a very great concourse of friends, and other people of divers sorts, assembled together at the meeting-house in White-hart-court, near Gracechurch-street, about the middle time of the day, in order to attend his body to the grave. The meeting was held about two hours with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed presence and glorious power; in which divers living testimonies were given, from a lively remembrance and sense of the blessed ministry of this dear and ancient servant of the Lord, his early entering into the Lord's work at the breaking forth of this gospel-day, his innocent life, long and great travels, and unwearied labours of love in the

everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; his manifold sufferings, afflictions, and oppositions, which he met withal for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries, and from false brethren; and his preservations, deliverances, and dominion in, out of, and over them all, by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour always was by him, and is, and always ought to be by all, ascribed.

After the meeting was ended, his body was borne by friends, and accompanied by very great numbers of friends, and other people, to friends' burying-ground near Bunhill-fields: where, after a solemn waiting upon the Lord, and several living testimonies borne, recommending the company to the guidance and protection of that divine Spirit and power, by which this holy man of God had been raised up, furnished, supported, and preserved, to the end of his day, his body was decently committed to the earth; but his memorial shall remain, and be everlastingly blessed among the righteous.

An Epistle of dear George Fox's, which was writ with his own hand, and left sealed up with this superscription, (viz. Not to be opened before the time;) which after his decease being opened, was thought meet to be printed, being as followeth: viz.

For the Yearly and Second-days Meeting in London, and to all the Children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. F.

This for all the Children of God every where, that are led by his Spirit, and do walk in his Light, in which they have life, and unity, and fellowship with the Father, and the Son, and one with another:

‘ Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that be gathered in his name by his Light, Grace, Truth, Power, and Spirit; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you, and in you, to your comfort, and God's glory.

‘ And now all friends, all your meetings, both men's and women's, monthly and quarterly, and yearly, &c. were set up by the power, and spirit, and wisdom of God; and in them you do know, that you have felt both his power, and spirit, and wisdom, and blessed refreshing presence among you, and in you, to his praise and glory, and your comfort: so that you have been a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.

‘ And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen betimes to oppose you and them, both in print and other ways; but you have seen how they have come to nought: and the Lord hath blasted them, and brought their deeds to light, and made them manifest to be the trees without fruit, and wells without water, and wandering stars from the firmament of God's power, and the raging waves of the sea, casting up their mire and dirt: and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit, and the sow that was washed, turned again to the mire. And this hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people!

‘ And therefore all to stand stedfast in Christ Jesus, your head, in whom you are all one, male and female, and know his government, and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end; but there will be

an end of the devil's, and of all them that be out of Christ, and do oppose it and him, whose judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not slumber: and therefore in God and Christ's light, life, spirit, and power, live and walk, that is over all (and the seed of it) in love and in innocency, and simplicity; and in righteousness and holiness dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghost, in which God's kingdom doth stand. All children of New and Heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, spiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

‘ And as for this spirit of rebellion and opposition, that hath risen formerly and lately, it is out of the kingdom of God and Heavenly Jerusalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words, and works. And therefore friends are to live and walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over it, and in the seed, that will bruise and break it to pieces: in which seed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and spirit of God, that doth judge it: and all God's witnesses in his tabernacle go out against it, and always have and will.

‘ And let no man live to self, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and seek the peace of the church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him: for blessed are the peace-makers. And dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wisdom of God, that is gentle, and easy to be entreated, that is full of mercy; all striving to be of one mind, heart, soul, and judgment in Christ, having his mind and spirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Christ, his church, who is the holy head thereof. So glory to God through Christ, in this age and all other ages, who is the rock and foundation, and the Emanuel, God with us, amen, over all, the beginning and the ending; in him live and walk, in whom you have life eternal, in whom you will feel me, and I you.

‘ All children of New Jerusalem, that descends from above, the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light thereof, and is the temple; in it they are born again of the Spirit: so Jerusalem that is above, is the mother of them that are born of the Spirit. And so they that come, and are come to heavenly Jerusalem, are them that receive Christ; and he giveth them power to become the sons of God, and are born again of the Spirit: so Jerusalem that is above, is their mother. And such do come to heavenly Mount Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, and

to the spirits of just men made perfect ; and are come to the church of the living God written in heaven, and have the name of God, and the city of God, written upon them : so here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and a spiritual generation.

‘ There is no schism, nor division, nor contention, nor strife, in heavenly Jerusalem, nor in the body of Christ, which is made up of living stones, a spiritual house. And Christ is not divided, for in him there is peace. Christ saith, In me you have peace. And he is from above, and not of this world ; but in the world below, in the spirit of it, there is trouble : therefore keep in Christ, and walk in him. Amen.

‘ And Jerusalem was the mother of all the true Christians before the apostacy ; and since the outward Christians are broken into many sects, and they have gotten many mothers : but all they that are come out of the apostacy by the power and spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above, is their mother, (and none below her ;) who doth nourish all her spiritual children.’

G. F.

Read at the Yearly Meeting
in London, 1691.

Reader, please to note, that these following papers and epistles (some of which being mentioned in the Journal, page 246. v. ii. &c. and there omitted) are found meet to be here inserted, and are as followeth :

*A Warning to the Magistrates and People of the City
of Oldenburg.*

‘ Friends,

‘ Have you not seen and felt the judgments of God upon your city, the Lord sending lightning from heaven that destroyed and burnt it ? And as I passed through your city on a first-day of the week, which you call your sabbath, I saw some drinking, and soldiers playing at shuffle-board, and others with their shops open and trading, when they should have been waiting upon God and worshipping him ; and your people were light and vain, without any sense of God’s judgment or repentance. O therefore repent, lest the all-seeing God, who sees all your actions

and is over all, do bring swift judgment upon you in his wrath and fury, and indignation. And so repent, and lay away all manner of evil and wickedness, and ungodliness, and unrighteousness; for the day of the Lord will come upon all that do evil, and the workers of iniquity; and this mighty day of the Lord will find them all out, and will burn as an oven, and burn up all the proud and wicked, and neither leave them root nor branch. And therefore all ye magistrates, priests and people, search in yourselves to find out the cause, and what wickedness and evil it has been you have committed, that has brought the wrath and vengeance, and judgments of God upon you and your city in burning it. And therefore all return and come to the light of Christ in your hearts, and to God's Spirit, and to the grace and truth in your hearts, that comes by Jesus Christ, that with it ye may search your hearts. And so do not grieve, nor vex, nor quench God's good Spirit in your hearts, and walk not despitefully against the Spirit of grace, nor turn from it into wantonness; and yet make a profession of God and Christ in words, when your hearts are afar off, and living in pleasures and wantonly upon the earth, sporting yourselves, killing the just, and crucifying to yourselves Christ afresh, and putting him to open shame; and so dishonouring God and Christ, and Christianity, and making a profession and a trade of the scriptures, keeping people always learning, that they may be always paying.

Therefore cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and look unto the Lord, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved; for the Lord God of heaven and earth is come, to teach his people himself by his light, spirit, grace and truth, and to bring them off all the world's teachers. And God hath raised up Christ Jesus his Prophet, whom people should hear, and saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and Christ saith, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth and the life; and no man comes to the Father, but by me." And there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven but by the name of Jesus, who saith, "I am the good Shepherd, and have laid down my life for my sheep, and my sheep hear my voice and follow me, and will not follow the hireling;" for Christ feeds them in the pastures of life that will never wither. And God hath anointed Christ Jesus to preach, if you will hear him; and God hath given Christ for a counsellor and a leader, if you will be led and counselled by him; and God hath given Christ for a Bishop to oversee you, and a King to rule you, if you will be overseen and ruled by him. And you that will not have Christ to rule over you, who never

sinned, nor guile was found in his mouth, you may read his sentence in the New Testament upon such. And is not Christ a sufficient teacher, whose blood was shed for you and tasted death for every man? And doth not Christ say to his ministers, "Freely ye have received, freely give?" And the apostle saith, "We covet no man's gold, silver or apparel;" but laboured with their hands, and kept the gospel without charge; have they that are called ministers amongst you done the same, and kept this command of Christ Jesus? Let them be examined and examine themselves. And have you not trimmed your outsides? but look within with the light and spirit of Christ Jesus, and see if your insides be not black and foul. For Christ Jesus, who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, with the life in himself, who is the word, he saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light;" and with the light ye may see all the evil deeds ye have done, and all your ungodly deeds that ye have acted and committed; and all your ungodly words you have spoken; and all your ungodly thoughts ye think; that ye may turn from them, and turn to Christ from whence the light comes; who is your Saviour and Redeemer, who hath given you a light to see your sin, and how that you are dead in Adam; that with the same light you may see Christ, the quickening Spirit, who makes you alive to God, and saves you from your sin. But if you hate the light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of Life, and love the darkness and the prince of darkness more than the light or the life in Christ, whose deeds be evil, and because it will reprove you, Christ tells you, "This light will be your condemnation." John 3. And therefore be warned now in your day, and while you have time turn to the Lord, and do not quench the Spirit of the Father by which he draws to his Son, nor hate the light of Christ; for if you do, you hate the life in Christ, and so remain under condemnation from God and Christ with the light, who now speaks to his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days; so the same God that was the speaker by the prophets to the fathers, and speaker to Adam and Eve in Paradise; and happy had Adam and Eve, and the Jews and all Christians been, if they had kept to this Speaker, and not have followed the serpent, that false speaker, and his instruments. And now God is the true speaker by his Son, who bruises the head of the serpent, the false teacher, who is the head of all false ways, and false prophets, and false churches, and false religions and worships. And so God and Christ is bringing people to the pure and undefiled religion, that

will keep them from the spots of the world, and into the new and living way, Christ Jesus; and to the church in God, which Christ is the head of, as he was in the apostles' days; and to worship God in the Spirit and truth, which worship Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. And therefore must all people come to the grace and spirit of truth in their own hearts, to know the God of truth, who is a Spirit, and in the spirit and truth to worship, and serve, and honour, and glorify the living God, who is over all, and worthy of all, blessed for evermore. Amen.

'And ye magistrates and officers read this in all your assemblies, and cause all your priests to read it in their churches; that they and you, and all people may hear and fear the God of heaven, as you will answer it at the great and terrible day of judgment, and vengeance of the Lord God Almighty. And this is in love to your souls, and for your temporal and eternal good.'

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 19th of the
Seventh month, 1677.

An Epistle concerning true Fasting, true Prayer, true Honour, and against Persecution, and for the true Liberty in Christ Jesus; and that all may have a care, that the Apostle hath not bestowed his labour in vain upon you in observing of Days, Months, Times, Feasts and Years, and of coming under the beggarly elements and the yoke of bondage again, and of bringing and forcing people into them.

'Where did ever Christ or his apostles command any believers or Christians to observe holy-days or feast-days? and let us see where it is written in the scriptures of the New Testament, in the four Evangelists, or the Epistles, or the Revelation, that ever Christ or his apostles gave the Christians any such command, that they should observe the time called Christmas, or a day for Christ's birth? or that they should observe the time called Easter, or Whitsuntide, or Peter, or Paul's, or Mark or Luke's days, or any other saints' days?

'Now you, that profess yourselves to be the reformed churches from the papists, jews, and heathen, and the scriptures to be your rule, and are professors of the new covenant, where do you prove out of the scriptures of the New Testament, that the apostles and the primitive church practised or forced any such thing, or that Christ and his apostles gave any such command to the churches

that they should practise and observe any such days? Let us see where this command is written. For did not the apostle say unto the Galatians in the fourth chapter, "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather ye are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times and years; I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." And in the third of Galatians it is said, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth, &c." And in Galatians the fifth, the apostle exhorts to "stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ had made them free;" and moreover said, "Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

'Now doth not this manifest, that there were some teachers, that were drawing the church of the Galatians into these beggarly elements, and bringing them again into bondage, in observing of days, months, times and years? for it was the apostle's work to bring them out of those bondages and beggarly elements; and therefore, when they were going back again into observing days, months, times and years, he was afraid, that he had bestowed his labour upon them in vain; and he exhorts them to stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ Jesus hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage; and again signifies, that they had been once entangled with that yoke of bondage and beggarly elements. But O! how are people called Christians, since the apostles' days gone again under this yoke of bondage and these beggarly elements, in observing days, months, times and years, let their practice declare. Nay, do not both papists and protestants force people to observe days, months and times, &c.? And therefore is not the apostle's labour and travail bestowed upon Christendom in vain, which was to bring people from under such beggarly elements and that yoke of bondage, (which the law did require,) to stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage? So it was and is Christ, that hath and doth make his people free from these things and beggarly elements. And therefore they that are redeemed, are to stand fast in that liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free. And this liberty, which all true Christians are to stand fast in, they are made free by Christ and not by man; for man without the spirit and mind of Christ, seeks to force and compel Christ's followers, and such as are made free from the yoke of bondage to outward things, that the law commanded, and to

the observing of days, months, times, feasts and years; such weak, beggarly elements, them that know God, or are known of God and Christ, are to stand fast in their liberty, and not come under, nor be entangled with the yoke of bondage of such things again, seeing he hath made them free. For they that are in such things, and would force others to them, are gone from that, which gives them the knowledge of God, and have not stood fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ makes free.

‘ And now concerning prayer, we do not read that ever Christ or his apostles did compel by force any to fast or pray, and make a law to strain the goods of such as would not observe days to fast and pray with them. But Christ taught them how they should pray, and be distinct from the hypocrites, and Christ’s words are as followeth; “ When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to stand praying in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men,” &c. “ But when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father, which is in secret, and thy Father that seeth in secret, will reward thee openly. But when you pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do; for they think, that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like them; for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him,” &c. So as the apostles and saints did, so do we; we pray in secret, and we pray in public, as the Spirit gives us utterance, which helps our infirmities, as it did the apostles and true Christians; and after this manner we pray for ourselves, and pray for all men both high and low.

‘ Concerning fasting Christ saith, “ Moreover when ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. But when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

‘ And likewise you may see in Isaiah the 58th, what the true fast is the Lord requires; where it is said to the prophet, “ Cry aloud, and spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins; yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God; they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they,

and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure, and exact all your labours. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness, ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bull-rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord; to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" So this fast that the Lord requires, is not to lay yokes and oppress and lay heavy burdens, and to make fast the bands of wickedness, but to loose and to break such things.

'And further, concerning the true fast the Lord requires, "Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor, that are cast out, to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh? (Do you keep this true fast?) Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee, the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am; if thou take away from the midst of thee the yokes, the putting forth of the finger and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light arise out of obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not," &c..

'Now here is the practice of the true fast the Lord requires of his people; and they that observe this fast, the Lord saith, "When they call, he will answer." And you may see what glorious and happy comforts they do receive from the Lord that keep this true fast; but such as fast for strife and debate, and smite with the fists of wickedness, to make their voices to be heard on high, and afflict their souls for a day, and bow down their head as a bull-rush, and looses not the bands of wickedness, and does not undo every heavy burden, and break off every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, and does not deal his bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and bring the poor to

his house, but hides himself from his own flesh, and clothes not the naked: such fasts and fasters the Lord doth not accept, neither hath he chosen them. But these appear to men with their disfigured faces, and hanging down their heads as a bull-rush for a day, like the hypocrites to fast, as Christ speaks of in Matth. vi.

‘And is it not the command of Christ, that in their fast they should not appear unto men to fast? And now you that would force us to shut up our shops on fasting-days, or for a day, does not this fast appear to men? and is not this the fast that the Lord saith in Isaiah, he doth not accept? for he saith, “Is this the fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul, and bow down his head as a bull-rush, &c. Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?” Isai. lviii.

‘And therefore all God’s people are to keep the true fast of the Lord from debate and strife, and the fists of wickedness; and that fast that breaks the bands of wickedness, and undoes every heavy burden, and breaks every yoke, and lets the oppressed go free, and deals bread to the hungry, and clothes the naked, and brings the poor that are cast out to his own house. So every one that keeps this true fast, their health shall grow, and when they call, the Lord will hear them; and the Lord will be their guide continually, and satisfy their souls in drought, and make their bones fat, and shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. Now you, that keep not this true fast, when you call upon the Lord on your own fasting-days, does the Lord answer you, and say, Here I am? doth the Lord guide you continually? and are your bones made fat by him, and your souls satisfied in drought? and are you like a watered garden, and like a spring, whose waters fail not? But you that keep not this true fast, do you not want these waters, which fail not? so your souls are not satisfied in drought, but your bones are lean, and you hear not the voice of the Lord, who saith, Here I am; and so you lose the heritage of Jacob, and ride not upon the high-places there, but come under. And therefore every man and woman, shut your hearts against all manner of evil whatsoever, and trade not with Babylon’s merchants of confusion; but keep the supernatural day of Christ that is sprung from on high, that is, by believing and walking in the light of Christ, and being grafted into him; and this will bring you to the true fast, from feeding upon any evil, and to the true praying in the Spirit, as Christ and the apostles have taught; which fruit of the Spirit is love, &c. which birth of the Spirit is not a

persecuting birth; but he that is born of the flesh, will persecute him that is born of the Spirit, because he will not follow the birth of the flesh, with its weak beggarly elements, that entangles with its yoke of bondage, and its observing of days, months, times, fasts, feasts and years, which the birth of the Spirit is to stand fast against in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made it free.

‘And do you not know, that the very Turks keep their sabbath on the sixth day, and the Jews upon the seventh day, and the Christians meet together on the first day of the week? And that day which the Turks keep, the Jews’ and Christians’ shops are open; and that day the Jews keep, Christians’ and Turks’ shops are open; and the first-days that the Christians keep, both Jews’ and Turks’ shops are open: and so the Turk does not force the Jews nor the Christians to shut up their shops on their meeting days, but lets them have their liberty in the Turks’ country. And where do you read, that ever the Turks forced any Christians to observe any of their holy-days, or fasts, or feasts? And if not, should not Christians be beyond the Turks in giving liberty to all tender consciences to serve God, seeing Christ and the apostles command not, nor force people to observe holy-days, or times, or months, or years, but should pray always in the Spirit, and fast always from strife and debate, from all manner of sin and evil; and that will keep down the fist of wickedness and the bond of iniquity? &c. And why should not people that be of a tender conscience, have their liberty to exercise their consciences towards God, that they may have a good conscience always towards God and man, to that which God requires, and to do unto all men, as they would have them to do unto them, and to love their neighbours as themselves; seeing that there are so many debauched, evil, and seared consciences, as with an hot iron, have the liberty in their loose lives and conversations, and in their loose words, whose tongues are at liberty to swear and curse, and their spirits are at liberty in drunkenness and uncleanness? So let the magistrates look and see, how this evil, seared conscience hath its liberty to be exercised in all manner of evil things, yea all Christendom over; which is a great shame and dishonour to God and Christ, and Christianity, yea and humanity. And therefore why should not God’s people have their liberty to exercise their good and tender consciences towards God and man? For the mystery of faith, which Jesus Christ is the author and finisher of, is held in a pure conscience. And should not the work of the true Christian magistrate be to encourage the exercise of this pure con-

science towards God and man, and to discourage the exercise of this evil, seared conscience, that dishonours both God and Christ, and true Christianity? If not, how are they a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evil-doers?

‘And now concerning the not putting off hats, for which many that go under the name of Christians, have taken offence at us, because we could not put off our hats, and bow down to them; for which we find no such command from Christ or his apostles, but rather to the contrary. For Christ saith, “I receive not honour of men (mark, he did not receive honour of men;) and further Christ saith, “How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that comes from God only?” Now Christ declares it to be a mark of unbelievers, that seek honour one of another, and seek not that honour that comes from God only; and is not the putting off the hat and bowing with it, an honour of men, which they seek one of another, and are offended if they have it not? Nay, have they not fined, persecuted and imprisoned some, because they did not put off their hats to them? Nay, do not the very Turks mock at the Christians in their proverb, saying that the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and shewing their bare head to one another? But should not the Christians be beyond the Turks, that bear that noble name of Christian, of seeking honour one of another, and persecuting them that will not give it them, when all true believing Christians should seek the honour that comes from God only? which is the duty of all true believers in Christ Jesus, for he would not receive honour of men. And “He that believeth on the Son of God, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth upon him.” John ii. 26. And now, is not the Turks’ proverb a reproach to the Christians, who say that the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and shewing their bare head one to another? Nay, have you not fined and imprisoned many, because they would not put off their hats to you, and shew you their bare heads? Nay, in many of your courts they shall not have right and justice, nor liberty and freedom in cities or states, though they have truly served their time, and are honest and civil men, unless they will put off their hats and shew their bare heads? And have you not made a law against such, as will not put off their hats and shew you their bare heads; and that they n forfeit two gilders if they did not? Yea, and to comp d force them to do

it, and fine such as do not, as at Lansmeer in Waterland? And is not this the honour that you seek one of another? Did not the pharisees and Jews do the same?

Now as for your saying, the apostle commands to honour all men; and such as rule well are worthy of double honour: now, if this honouring all men, were to put off their hats to all men, and shew all men their bare heads, then this command you break yourselves; for you do not do this to all men generally: and if they that rule well must have double hat-honour, then they must put off their hats twice, and shew them their bare heads. Now, if this hat-honour and shewing the bare head, be an invention of men and not from God, and ye cannot prove it by scripture, and yet say it is your rule; then you act beside the rule and compel people to act contrary to your rule. For where did ever the prophets, Christ, or the apostles' command any such thing? Let us see a command, a practice, and an example for it. Nebuchadnezzar, who was a persecutor, and cast the three children of Israel into the fire with their hose, cloaks and hats, we do not read that he was offended at them, because they did not put off their hats, and shew him their bare heads, but because that they would not bow to his image. And is it not said in the margin of the bible, where it is said honour all men, (it is said) have all men in esteem? then they that rule well are worthy of double esteem; and this esteem must be truly in the heart, without any envy, malice or hatred. As all men are the workmanship of God, they are to be esteemed in the heart with the Spirit of God; and they that rule well are worthy of double esteem: and here is true honour from the heart both to God, and man, his workmanship. For people may put off their hats, and shew their bare heads one to another once, or twice to the officers and magistrates, and yet be full of envy, and malice, and hatred, and murder in their hearts one against another, and give them that honour, as you call it, and yet speak or wish bad things of them, when they have turned their backs on them; which the true honour or esteem in the heart to all men, as they are God's creation, is without any evil wish or thought in the heart to all men, and to them that rule well, which have the double esteem, whom God hath placed over people. There is no evil in the heart that gives this respect, esteem or honour, and brings them to love their neighbours as themselves, and to do unto all men, as they would have them do unto them, in that they esteem all men, and they have a double esteem to them that rule well; and this is beyond all the honour

of putting off the hats once to all men, and twice to them that are worthy of the double honour, as you may call it. But we would ask the Christians that practise this hat-honour, and shewing one another their bare heads, who did invent this single honour and double honour, that they should put off their hats one to another, and shew their bare heads, seeing that they cannot prove, that ever Christ or the apostles did command or practise any such thing, or Moses in the time of the law? Now, do not say or think, that we had this practice of not putting off the hats from the Turk; for we were moved by the Spirit of the Lord to it, before ever we heard of the Turks' proverb and practice, to leave the honour that is below, and seek the honour that comes from above, when we came to be true believers in Christ Jesus.

' Now concerning persecuting, imprisoning, and banishing God's people, in whom Christ is manifest, and dwells in their hearts; doth not Christ tell you that you imprison him? and then do you not banish him, and persecute him out of your cities and corporations? And how can you enter into his kingdom, and have a share of his kingdom, though you may profess him in words? And do not they go into everlasting punishment, that did not visit Christ in prison? Then what will become of you that do banish and imprison him, where he is manifest in his members, nor suffer them to meet together to enjoy him amongst them, according to his promise? And therefore you, that will not let Christ reign in his people, and have his liberty in them in your cities and countries, to exercise his offices, you will not have your liberty in heaven; and you that will not let Christ reign in your hearts, nor suffer him to reign in his people here upon the earth in this world, in your kingdoms; you will not reign with Christ in heaven in his kingdom, nor in the world without end.

' And so you, that banish the truth out of your cities or countries, or his people for its sake, you do banish the truth and Christ out of your hearts from ruling there; and so you yourselves are not the temples of God. And then, when you have banished Christ and his truth out of your own hearts, then you do banish such, in whom he rules, out of your estates and country: and then see what judgments the Lord doth bring upon you, when you are left to yourselves; yea, fears and troubles, and one judgment after another, that come upon you; you are even filled with them. But the persecuted and sufferers for truth and Christ's sake have habitation in the truth, which the devil is out of; which habita-

tion will outlast all the habitations of the wicked and persecutors, though they be never so full of words without life and truth. So the life and the truth will outlast all airy notion, and Christ the Lamb and patient Seed, will overcome the devourer and the impatient Seed; and they that have the garments, the righteousness of Christ, which is the fine linen, it will outlast all the rags and inventions of men. For Christ saith to his learners, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world, the persecuting world:" and so he said unto his disciples, "Marvel not, if that the world hate you, for it hated me before you." And therefore let all that profess themselves Christians, lay away persecution about religion, churches or worship, fasting or praying days; for you have no command from Christ and his apostles to persecute any. For Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, when they called him a deceiver, and blasphemed him, and said he had a devil; he did not persecute any of them for it, nor force or compel any to hear and believe him, nor the apostles after him; but he bad them, that would have been plucking up the tares, "Let the tares and wheat grow together until the harvest." So you have no command from Christ or his apostles to persecute, imprison or banish, or spoil the goods of any, for matter of pure conscience and religion, worship, faith, and church, in the gospel-times.'

G. F.

Harlingen in Friezland, the 11th
of the Sixth month, 1677.

*A Warning to the Magistrates, Priests, and People, of the
City of Hambro, to humble themselves before the Lord,
and not to be high-minded.*

' Friends,

' You have painted and garnished the inside of your outward houses and high places, but look within your hearts with the light of Christ, which he hath enlightened you and every man that cometh into the world withal, and with it you may see how foul your hearts and insides are with sin and evil, which Christ tells you ye should make clean; who told the pharisees how they painted the sepulchres of the righteous, and they themselves were full of rottenness and corruption. Therefore look into yourselves, and your own hearts, what you are full of: to paint out the sepulchres of the righteous apostles, and making a trade and a profession of their words, without the same Holy Ghost,

and power, and light, and truth which they were in, will not stand at the day of God's vengeance. And therefore repent while you have time, and turn to the Lord with your whole hearts, and do not think yourselves to be secure, without his immediate, almighty protection. For it is not all your works, nor all your own strength, and power, and defence, that can protect you; and you to look at them, and think yourselves secure, and sit down in your security, and in it let your hearts be merry, and at rest and ease. But then when the Lord brings a scourge upon you, that you are filled with terrors and fears, remember you were warned that you were set down, but not in the true rest: and then all your own strength and force will stand you in no stead; and you will acknowledge that it must be God that must protect you. And therefore take warning; for your priests and people are too high, and are swallowed up too much in this world; and the vanities of it carry your minds away from God, and your care is more for the world than for God, and more after the riches of the world, than after the riches of the world that has no end. For know you not, that all your heaps of outward treasure must have an end, and that you must leave them all behind you? Therefore I am to warn and advise you, both high and low, priests and people, to come to the grace, light, and truth, that comes by Jesus Christ; and also to come to the manifestation of the good Spirit of God, which is given to you to profit withal; that with this grace, and truth, and light, and Spirit of Christ, you may turn to Christ Jesus, from whence it comes, who saith, "Learn of me;" and God saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him." And so all the children of the new covenant, that walk in the new and living way, do hear Christ their prophet, that God has raised up, who is their teacher and priest, whom God hath anointed to preach. And so now, God doth speak to his people by his Son, as he did in the apostles' days. And so the Lord is come to teach his people himself by his grace, light, truth, and spirit, and to bring them off all the world's teachers that are made by men since the apostles' days; who have kept people always learning, that they may always be paying of them; and is come to bring them off all the world's religions, to the religion that he set up in the apostles' days, in the new covenant, which is pure and undefiled before God in his sight, and keeps from the spots of the world, &c. And the Lord is come to bring them off all the world's churches, to the church in God, which Christ the heavenly man is head of: and to bring them off from all the world's worst:

worship God in Spirit and in Truth, which Christ set up above sixteen hundred years since. So all men and women must come to the spirit and truth in their hearts, by which they must know the God of truth, who is a spirit : and then in the spirit and truth they will worship him, and know what and who they worship. And also the Lord is come to bring his people off all the world's temples, that with the spirit they may know that their bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost. And the Lord is come to bring his people off all the world's crosses, and pictures, and images, and likenesses, to know that the power of God is the cross of Christ, which crucifies them to the world, and brings them up into the likeness and image of God, as man and woman was in before they fell, and so to Christ that never fell. And this work of Christ must all know in their hearts, by the light of Christ Jesus, who is the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. It is called the light in man and woman, and the life in Christ the Word : and Christ saith, "Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light." And the light lets you see all your evil actions, that you have done and committed ; and your ungodly ways you have walked in ; and your ungodly words and thoughts : and now, if you do hate this light, and love the darkness, and the prince of it, more than this light, which is the life in Christ, the Prince of Life, and will not come to it, because your deeds be evil, and it will reprove you ; Christ tells you, this light is your condemnation. And then what is all your profession good for, when you remain under the condemnation of the true light, in which you should believe ; and so become children of light, and out of condemnation ? And therefore every one must believe in the light, if they do receive Christ Jesus ; and as many as receive him, he gives them power to become the sons of God. So he that hath the Son of God, hath life ; and they that have not the Son of God, have not life : and then if you have not life, what good doth all your profession of the scriptures from Genesis to Revelations do you, any more than the Jews, scribes and pharisees, that would not receive Christ the life, upon whom God brought his overflowing scourge. And therefore do you take heed of that, for your strength will be no better than theirs, if you have not God and Christ's supporting power, when God's scourge comes upon you, and you are filled with horrors and fears. But my desires are, that you may all repent, even from the highest to the lowest, and not grieve, nor quench, nor vex, nor rebel against, God's good spirit in you, nor walk

despitefully against the Spirit of Grace, nor turn from it unto wantonness, which would teach you, and bring your salvation. Which if you do, how can you escape the overflowing scourge of the Almighty, and the wrath of the Lamb? But my desires are, that you may all obey God's good spirit of truth, which will lead you out of all evil into all truth, and reprove you for your righteousness, and for your own judgment and sin, &c. and it will bring you to cleave to that which is good, and forsake that which is evil; and to turn to the Lord, who will receive you in his mercy and kindness: by which means you may escape the overflowing scourge in the day of vengeance, which dreadful day is coming upon all evil-doers. And this as a warning to you, both for your temporal and eternal good: and for you to read it in your assemblies, and your priests to read it in their churches; so that all people may hear and fear, as you will answer it at the terrible and dreadful day of judgment.'

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 19th of the
7th month, 1677.

*For the Ambassadors, that are met to treat for Peace at the
City of Nimmeguen, in the States dominions.*

' Christ Jesus saith, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God," Matth. v. 9. so all Christian men are to forsake evil, and do good, and seek peace and follow it, if they will love life, and see good days, 1 Pet. iii. 11. for God hath called all true Christians unto Peace, 1 Cor. vii. and therefore all Christians ought to follow this peace, which God calls them to: and they should let the peace of God rule in all their hearts; which is above the peace of this world, that is so soon broken. For the apostle commands the Christians to let the peace of God rule in their hearts, to which all Christians should be subject: now the practice of this should be among Christians, that profess Christianity; and this peace is above that, which Christ takes from the earth, Rev. vi. which is the peace of the wicked. And the apostle saith to the Christians, "Be at peace among yourselves," 1 Thess. v. Now all Christians should obey this command, and be at peace among themselves, and not in wars and strife. And further, the apostle exhorts the Christians to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: so this unity, and this bond of peace, should be kept (and not be

broken) by all that bear that noble name, **Christian**; and they should keep the unity of the Spirit of Christ in the bond of the Prince of princes, and King of kings, and Lord of lords' peace, which is the duty of all true Christians to keep: in which they may honour Christ, in bringing forth the fruits of peace, which are love and charity. For the apostle tells you, "The fruit of the good Spirit is love, joy, and peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, &c." Gal. v.

'And the apostle exhorts the Christians, and saith, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men:" and this should be the endeavour of all Christians. For it is no honour to Christ, that Christians should war and destroy one another, that do profess the name of Christ, who saith, "He came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them:" for Christians have enemies enough abroad without them, and therefore they should love one another, as Christ commands, who saith, "By this ye shall be known to be my disciples, if ye love one another." For Christians are commanded to love enemies; therefore much more one another. And Christ saith, "As the Father hath loved me, so I have loved you: continue ye in my love," John xv. 8. and "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another," John xiii. 35. But if Christians do war and destroy one another, this will make both Jews, Turks, Tartars, and heathens, to say, that you are not disciples of Christ. And therefore, as you love God, and Christ, and Christianity, and its peace, all make peace, as far as you have power, among Christians, that you may have the blessing. For you read, that Christians were called the household of faith, the household of God, a holy nation, a peculiar people: and they are commanded to be zealous for good works, not for bad: and Christians are also commanded not to bite and devour one another, lest they be consumed one of another.

'And is it not a sad thing for Christians to be biting and consuming one another in the sight of the Turks, Tartars, Jews, and heathens, when they should love one another, and do unto all men, as they would have them do unto them? And such work and devouring as this, will open the mouths of Jews and Turks, Tartars and heathens, to blaspheme the name of Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and cause them to speak evil of Christianity, for them to see how the unity of the Spirit is broken among such, as profess Christ and Christ's peace. And therefore all Christians are to mind God and Christ's

teaching, who teacheth Christians to love one another, yea enemies; and persuade all kings and princes, to give liberty to all tender consciences in matters of religion and worship, they living peaceably under every government: so that for the time to come there may be no more imprisonment and persecution among the Christians, for matters of tender consciences about matters of faith, worship, and religion, that the Jews, Turks, Tartars, and heathens, may not see how Christians are persecuting one another for religion. And seeing, from Christ and the apostles Christians have no such command, but on the contrary, to love one another; and knowing, that Christ said to such as would have been plucking up tares, Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest (which is the end of the world) lest they plucked up the wheat; and at the end of the world Christ would send forth his angels, and they should sever the wheat from the tares: so Christ tells you, that it is the angels' work at the end of the world, and not men's work, before the harvest at the end of the world. Hath not all this persecution, banishing, and imprisoning, and putting to death, concerning religion, been the pretence of plucking up tares? and hath not all this been before the harvest, and before the end of the world? And therefore, have not all these been the actors against the express command of Christ, the King of Heaven? which all kings and rulers, especially they that call themselves Christians, should obey their Lord and Saviour's command, which he expressly commands: Let the tares and the wheat grow together, till the harvest; and the harvest is the end of the world: and then Christ will send his angels, and they shall sever the wheat from the tares, &c. And also Christ told some of his disciples, that would have had fire to come down from heaven, to destroy such as would not receive him (in their zeal;) "That they did not know what spirit they were of:" and rebuked them, and said, "He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." And therefore all such that have destroyed men's lives concerning religion, and worship of God, have they known what spirit they have been of? Have they not done that they should not do? and done that which Christ forbade, who saith, "Lest ye should pluck up the wheat with the tares," and saith, "It is the angels' work at the end of the world?" And hath not God shewed unto man what is good, and his duty, to love mercy, and to do justly, and to walk humbly with his God? which man is to mind.

‘ And the apostle exhorts the Christians, “ To follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord,” Hebr. xiii. 14. And why should Christians war and strive one with another, seeing they all do own in words one King, and Lord, and Saviour Christ Jesus, whose command is, that they should love one another; which is a mark that they shall be known by, to be Christ’s disciples, as I said before. And Christ, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, saith, “ As I have loved you, so love one another,” John xv. 12. and John xiii. And the apostle saith, “ Christians ought to be patient towards all men,” 1 Thess. v. 14.

‘ From him, who is a lover of truth and righteousness, and peace, and desires your temporal and eternal good; and desires, that in the wisdom of God, that is pure, and gentle, and peaceable, from above, with that you may be ordered, and order all things, that God hath committed to you, to his glory, and stop those things among Christians, so far as you have power, which dishonour God, Christ, and Christianity!’

G. F.

Amsterdam, the 21st of the
7th month, 1677.

TABLE,

Containing the Names of the Counties, Cities, Towns, and Places, mentioned in the Author's Journal of his Travels, and Labours on Truth's account in England, &c. and beyond the Seas.

Abbyholm, vol. i. page 400.	Badcow, i. 401, 404, 410.
Aberdeen, ii. 197.	Badgley, i. 277, 280, 348, 462.—ii. 76, 96, 221.
Acton, i. 245.	Baghurst, ii. 115.
Adderbury, ii. 173, 252.	Bagworth, i. 109.
Adingworth, ii. 220.	Balby, i. 138, 154, 156, 230, 264.—ii. 96, 219.
Albans, i. 281.—ii. 220, 252, 277.	Baldock, i. 281.—ii. 84, 265.
Aldborough, Castle, ii. 327.	Ballowfield, ii. 219.
Aldenham, i. 168.	Banbury, ii. 84.
Alexandria, i. 503.—ii. 4.	Bandon, ii. 99.
Alkmaer, ii. 229, 326.	Bandon Bridge, ii. 99.
America, ii. 198.	Barbadoes, ii. 127, 140, 162, 165, 413.
Amersham, ii. 249.	Barking, ii. 380.
Amoroca River, ii. 164.	Barnet, i. 77.—ii. 220, 252, 277, 396.
Ampthill, ii. 220.	Barnet Hills, ii. 6, 7.
Amsterdam, ii. 224, 234, 239, 244, 324, 326, 408, 434, 437, 446, 452.	Barnstaple, ii. 87.
Annamessy River, ii. 163.	Barrow, i. 109.—ii. 6.
Anderigo, ii. 237.	Barton, ii. 217.
Antigua, ii. 134, 253.	Barton Abbey, i. 464.
Apleton, ii. 87.	Basinstoke, i. 370.
Appingdalen, ii. 231.	Battersea, ii. 278.
Appleby, i. 184.	Beavor Vale, i. 93, 96, 105.
Apre, ii. 231.	Becliff, i. 169.
Arnside, i. 199, 465.—ii. 25, 267	Bedall, ii. 217.
Armscot, ii. 173, 252.	Bedfordshire, i. 254, 276, 281, 420.—ii. 12, 76, 220, 252, 265, 277.
Arundel, i. 282.	Bethnal-green, ii. 342, 357.
Ashford, ii. 13.	Bentham, ii. 60.
Ashwell, ii. 265.	
Atherston, i. 110, 234.	
Aylesbury, ii. 173.	

- Berkshire, ii. 6, 107, 116, 250.
 Berrystreet, ii. 378.
 Berwick, i. 416.
 Beverley, i. 138.
 Beaumaris, i. 388.
 Biddlesden, ii. 277.
 Bishopsdale, ii. 217.
 Bishop-starford, i. 263.
 Black-rock, ii. 97.
 Bletchingly, ii. 278.
 Block Island, ii. 149.
 Bodmin, i. 291.
 Bohemia River, ii. 144, 153.
 Bonner's Creek, ii. 158, 160.
 Boston, i. 347.
 Boston, i. 496.—ii. 162.
 Boulton, N. E. ii. 38.
 Bowden, ii. 265.
 Bootell, i. 199.
 Bradford, i. 159.
 Braintree, ii. 248.
 Brecknock, i. 373.
 Bremen, ii. 232, 236.
 Bremer-Haven, ii. 235.
 Bridge-town, ii. 133.
 Bridport, i. 371.
 Briell, ii. 224, 247, 323, 327.
 Brigflats, ii. 216.
 Bristol, i. 342, 372, 458.—ii. 4,
 21, 76, 82, 104, 106, 250.
 Bristol Harbor, ii. 168.
 Buckinghamshire, i. 77, 346,
 441.—ii. 76, 84, 115, 172,
 220, 249, 252, 277, 288.
 Bugbrook, ii. 277.
 Bullock's Hill, ii. 220.
 Burlington, ii. 72.
 Burnt Island, i. 411.
 Burraby, i. 142.—ii. 217.
 Burrowbridge, ii. 24.
 Burton, ii. 277.
 Burton-upon-Trent, i. 137.
 Bushel House, i. 137.
 Buxtehude, ii. 232.
 Buykslote, ii. 229.
 Cambridge, i. 262.
 Cambridgeshire, i. 347, 451.—
 ii. 12, 109.
 Camsgill, ii. 216.
 Canterbury, i. 257.—ii. 116.
 Capell, ii. 278.
 Curdiff, i. 372.—ii. 85.
 Carlisle, i. 205, 214, 400.—ii.
 127.
 Carolina, ii. 158.
 Carterford, i. 466.
 Cartmeil, ii. 27.
 Causham, ii. 250.
 Charing-cross, i. 240, 242.
 Charlewood, ii. 252.
 Chattan, i. 277.
 Chelmsford, ii. 248.
 Cheltenham, ii. 252.
 Chesham, ii. 252.
 Cheshire, i. 375, 418, 477.—ii.
 79, 97, 104.
 Cheshunt, ii. 424.
 Chesterfield, i. 111.
 Chester River, ii. 143, 153.
 Chichester, i. 282.
 China, i. 503.
 Chiswick, ii. 357, 396.
 Cholsberry, ii. 252.
 Choptank River, ii. 165.
 Christian River, ii. 152.
 Cirencester, i. 348.—ii. 252.
 Clauson, i. 96.
 Cleveland, i. 142, 418.—ii. 78.
 Clifts, ii. 142, 156, 163, 167.
 Closter Severn, ii. 232.
 Cockan, i. 178.
 Cockermonth, i. 201.
 Coggeshall, i. 258, 504.
 Colchester, i. 259, 504.—ii. 223,
 248, 323, 327.
 Coldbeck, i. 204, 216.
 Collumpton, i. 342.—ii. 20.
 Point Comfort, ii. 161.
 Connecticut, ii. 148.
 Conney Island, ii. 151.
 Cork, ii. 99.
 Cornwall, i. 286, 302, 341, 454.
 —ii. 16, 87.
 Cossell, ii. 197.
 Coventry, i. 78, 80, 109, 280.
 Counterside, ii. 217.
 Crane's Island, ii. 155.
 Crantzick, i. 139, 150.
 Cranbrook, i. 256.—ii. 13.
 Cricketrough, ii. 161.

- Crook, i. 166.
 Crossland, i. 174.
 Crowland, i. 347.
 Crownallins, ii. 252.
 Cumberland, i. 199, 217, 400.—
 ii. 78.
 Dalgelthly, i. 386.
 Dalston, ii. 297, 299, 322, 327.
 Dalton, i. 168.
 Dantzic, ii. 198, 253, 259, 345,
 408, 409.
 Derby, i. 112, 129, 136, 462.
 Derbyshire, i. 81, 92, 94, 111,
 138, 231, 277, 418, 462.—
 ii. 22, 75, 78, 109, 219, 267,
 277.
 Darwen Water, i. 217.—ii. 25.
 Deal, ii. 116, 125.
 Delaware Bay, ii. 152.
 — River, ii. 144.
 Delft, ii. 224, 247.
 Delfziel, ii. 230.
 Delmenhorst, ii. 232.
 Denbyshire, ii. 79, 302.
 Dent, i. 162.
 Deteren, ii. 231.
 Devonshire, i. 454, 457.—ii. 16,
 20, 87.
 Dingley, ii. 220.
 Dockum, ii. 230, 237.
 Doncaster, i. 138, 156.—ii. 219.
 Dorchester, i. 283, 372, 453.
 Dorsetshire, i. 453.—ii. 16, 88.
 Dover, i. 257.
 Downs, ii. 125.
 Douglas, i. 401.
 Drawell, ii. 216.
 Drayton, i. 75, 233, 276, 462.
 Droitwich, ii. 79.
 Dublin, ii. 98, 103.
 Duckenfield, i. 89.
 Dumfriès, i. 401.
 Dunbar, i. 415.
 Duncow, i. 280.
 Dunstable, ii. 197, 277.
 Durham, i. 217, 417.—ii. 24, 78.
 East Friesland, ii. 231.
 East Jersey, ii. 144, 151.
 Edghill, i. 348.
 Edinburgh, i. 405, 408, 413.
 Edmonton, ii. 278, 279, 284,
 288, 333, 378.
 Eems River, ii. 231.
 Eldreth, ii. 97.
 Elmshoren, ii. 233.
 Ely, i. 262.—ii. 12.
 Embden, ii. 231, 236.
 Enfield, ii. 117, 122, 284, 327,
 333, 338, 347, 357, 379, 399,
 415.
 Enkhuysen, ii. 230.
 Epping Forest, ii. 338.
 Esher, ii. 278.
 Essex, i. 258, 449, 506.—ii. 13,
 77, 108, 116, 172, 223, 248,
 322, 374, 380, 399, 415.
 Eaton, i. 94.
 Evesham, i. 278, 348.—ii. 194,
 252.
 Exeter, i. 341, 372.
 Eyder River, ii. 233.
 Falcoln Island, ii. 150.
 Falmouth, i. 289.—ii. 17.
 Farnham, i. 370.—ii. 89.
 Felsted, ii. 248.
 Fen Country, i. 347.—ii. 12.
 Firbank Chap. i. 163, 168.
 Fisher-holder, ii. 232.
 Fisher's Island, ii. 149.
 Flamsted Heath, ii. 284.
 Flintshire, i. 389.
 Flushing, ii. 145, 150.
 Ford-green, ii. 333, 399.
 Forest of Dean, ii. 86.
 Franeker, ii. 238, 325.
 Frederickstadt, ii. 233.
 Friezland, ii. 230, 237, 325.
 Gainsborough, i. 154.
 Gardick, ii. 237.
 Garner's Island, ii. 149.
 Garsdale, ii. 217.
 Garshore, i. 401.
 Garstrang, ii. 33.
 Gatton, ii. 278.
 Germany, ii. 232.
 Giggleswick, ii. 60.

- Gillsland, i. 218, 400.
 Glasgow, i. 410.
 Gleasson, i. 169.
 Gloucester, i. 461.
 Gloucestershire, i. 348.—ii. 22,
 82, 84, 104, 106, 251, 277.
 Gooses, ii. 374, 377, 380, 387,
 407, 417, 418, 421.
 Grarigg, i. 196.—ii. 25.
 Gravesand, N. E. ii. 145, 151.
 Gravesend, ii. 116, 124.
 Great Bay, ii. 155.
 Grisedall, i. 162.
 Groningen, ii. 230, 237.
 Guildford, ii. 116, 278, 305,
 389.
 Gulf of Florida, ii. 141.
 Gull's Island, ii. 149.
 Gutter's Hedge, ii. 277.

 Hague, ii. 247.
 Halifax, i. 223, 229.
 Halsted, ii. 248.
 Hamburgh, ii. 232, 234, 446,
 to 452.
 Hammersmith, ii. 278, 288, 341,
 396, 415.
 Hampshire, i. 453.—ii. 14, 115,
 172.
 Hampton Court, i. 440.
 ——— Park, i. 440.
 Harborough, i. 240.
 Hare-street, ii. 327.
 Harlem, ii. 224, 245, 326.
 Harlingen, ii. 230, 238, 326,
 437 to 446.
 Hartshill, ii. 219.
 Hartshorn, ii. 219.
 Harwich, ii. 223, 248, 323, 327.
 Hatter's Island, ii. 155.
 Haverfordwest, i. 384.
 Heads, i. 401, 410.
 Hedgerley, ii. 249.
 Helston, i. 286.—ii. 17.
 Hempensarmar, ii. 237.
 Hempstead, ii. 252.
 Hendon, ii. 173, 220, 252, 277.
 Henley, ii. 250, 288.
 Hereford, ii. 22.
 Herefordshire, ii. 22, 81.
 Hertford, i. 263.—ii. 264, 278,
 379.
 Hertfordshire, i. 281.—ii. 13,
 85, 108, 252.
 Hexham, i. 218.
 Hide Park, i. 345.
 Higham, i. 280.
 Highgate, ii. 197, 220.
 Highlands, i. 401, 411.
 Hightown, i. 159.
 Hill, ii. 267.
 Over the Hills, ii. 84.
 Hitchin, ii. 265.
 Hoddesdon, ii. 399.
 Hoghen-horn, ii. 233.
 Holdendike, ii. 73.
 Holderness, i. 151, 229, 348,
 418.—ii. 23, 97.
 Holland, ii. 69, 223, 253, 323.
 Holstein, ii. 233.
 Honiton, i. 284.
 Hoorn, ii. 230.
 Horn Church, ii. 117.
 Horse Bridge, ii. 20.
 The Two Horse Race, ii. 149.
 Horsham, i. 257.—ii. 278.
 Horsham Park, i. 282.
 Howlker, i. 468.
 Howlker-hall, ii. 28.
 Hull, i. 154, 418 —ii. 73.
 Humber, i. 348.
 Hunington, ii. 173.
 Hunger-hill, ii. 249, 288.
 Hunger River, ii. 165.
 Huntingdon, i. 347.—ii. 265.
 Huntingdonshire, i. 347, 451.—
 ii. 12, 70, 77, 109.
 Jamaica, ii. 134, 140, 151, 151.
 Jersey, ii. 151.
 Ifield, ii. 278.
 Ilchester, ii. 88.
 Ilmore, ii. 252, 288.
 Indian Towns, ii. 150.
 Johnston's i. 412.
 Jordans, ii. 249.
 Ipswich, i. 259.
 Irb's Court, ii. 86.

- Ireland, i. 280.—ii. 97, 103.
 Itzeho, ii. 233.
 Ives, i. 288.—ii. 265.
 Keby, ii. 236.
 Kellet, i. 171.—ii. 267.
 Kempston, ii. 220.
 Kendal, i. 165, 172, 399.—ii. 58.
 Kensington, ii. 278.
 Kensworth, ii. 220.
 Kent, i. 256, 370.—ii. 13, 90, 116.
 Kent Island, ii. 155, 166.
 Kentish Shore, ii. 154.
 Keswick, ii. 26.
 Kidsley Park, i. 111, 231.
 King's Bridge, i. 285.—ii. 16, 88.
 King Road, ii. 167.
 Kingston, i. 345, 440.—ii. 76, 124, 172, 196, 223, 249, 278, 288, 300, 304, 305, 308, 313, 322, 341, 373, 391, 396, 413, 415.
 Kirby Hall, ii. 27.
 Knighton, ii. 219, 265.
 Lamcoat, ii. 252.
 Lancashire, i. 89, 166, 175, 198, —ii. 25, 27, 78, 267, 276.
 Lancaster, i. 171, 180, 185, 223, 391, 465, 467, 477.—ii. 30, 59, 197.
 Lancelton, i. 290, 340.
 Land's End, i. 454.—ii. 18, 87.
 Landsmeer, ii. 242, 326.
 Langlands, i. 219, 400.
 Langstrochdale, ii. 217.
 Leer, ii. 231, 236.
 Leeward Island, ii. 163.
 Leicester, i. 92, 238.—ii. 8, 76, 219, 266.
 Leicestershire, i. 78, 82, 89, 92, 96, 108, 111, 136, 232, 276, 280, 348, 420, 462.—ii. 6, 76, 78, 109, 277.
 Leith, i. 405, 413.
 Leominster i. 380.—ii. 81.
 Leuwarden, ii. 230, 237, 325.
 Leyden, ii. 224, 247.
 Lillingstone, ii. 277.
 Lime, i. 372.
 Lincolnshire, i. 154, 230, 347.—ii. 12, 77, 277.
 Litchfield, i. 137.
 Lithgow, i. 405.
 Littleport, ii. 12.
 Liverpool, i. 390.—ii. 97, 104.
 London, i. 78, 240, 243, 258, 263, 281, 346, 375, 429, 477.—ii. 6, 12, 76, 83, 92, 107, 116, 123, 172, 181, 196, 220, 223, 248, 252, 277, 300, 308, 313, 322, 327, 335, 338, 340, 341, 344, 347, 373, 377, 387, 396, 397, 407, 413, 415, 421, 424, 428, 429.
 Long Crendon, ii. 252.
 Longford, ii. 288.
 Long Island, ii. 145, 150.
 Loo, ii. 17.
 Lovel, ii. 277.
 Lugmer, ii. 237.
 Luneburg's Country, ii. 235.
 Luton, i. ~~223~~—ii. 220, 252.
 Lutterworth, i. 77.
 Lynn, i. 262.—ii. 12.
 Mackum, ii. 230.
 Macocomocock River, ii. 158.
 Maidstone, i. 256.
 Malpoth, i. 390.
 Malta, ii. 3.
 Malton, i. 146.—ii. 23, 61, 73.
 Manaco River, ii. 163.
 Manchester, i. 89, 390.
 Mansetter, i. 79.
 Mansfield, i. 90, 92, 94, 138.—ii. 75.
 Mansfield Wood House, i. 107.
 Maratich River, ii. 163.
 Market Bossorth, i. 110.
 Market Jew, i. 286.
 Market Street, i. 281.—ii. 220, 252, 277.
 Marlborough, i. 345.—ii. 172.
 Maryland, ii. 140, 153, 161.
 Do. Eastern Shore, ii. 143.

- Maryland, Western shore, ii. 156
 Memsbury, ii. 88.
 Mendle, ii. 252.
 Mendlesham, i. 259.
 Menhenniot, (Corn.) i. 286.
 Merionethshire, ii. 79.
 Middlesex, ii. 115, 172, 220,
 277, 288, 410.
 Middletown, (E.I.) ii. 144, 152.
 Middletown Harbour, ii. 151.
 Mildum, ii. 217.
 Mile End, i. 495.
 Miles' River, ii. 143, 153.
 Milford Haven, ii. 162.
 Mimams, ii. 277.
 Minehead, ii. 86.
 Moniash, ii. 267.
 Monmouthshire, ii. 82.
 Montgomeryshire, i. 379.—ii. 79.
 Moors, i. 150.
 Morpeth, i. 416.
 Mumbles, ii. 85.

 Nailsworth, i. 461.—ii. 251.
 Nancemum, ii. 157.
 Narraganset, ii. 148.
 Natton Is. ii. 151.
 Nevis, ii. 134, 198, 253.
 Newbury, i. 345.
 Newcastle, i. 416.
 Newcastle, (Am.) ii. 144, 153.
 New England, ii. 143, 147, 162,
 198.
 New Garden, ii. 98.
 New Jersey, ii. 162.
 Newick, ii. 14.
 Newport-pagnell, i. 77.—ii. 85,
 197.
 Newton in Cartmell, i. 166.
 New York, ii. 150.
 Nimmeguen, ii. 449.
 Norfolk, i. 259, 449.—ii. 13, 77.
 Northallerton, ii. 217.
 Northampton, i. 77, 240.—ii.
 197, 220.
 Northamptonshire, i. 276, 280,
 347, 418.—ii. 12, 76, 265, 277.
 North Country, i. 220.
 North Holland, ii. 230.
 North Newton, ii. 84, 252.
 Northumberland, i. 217, 417.—
 ii. 25, 78.
 Norwich, i. 260, 449.—ii. 12.
 Nottingham, i. 96, 105, 107,
 420.—ii. 75, 96, 219.
 Nottinghamshire, i. 82, 89, 93,
 138, 154, 231, 277, 347, 418,
 462, 464.—ii. 6, 75, 77, 277.
 Nottinghamley, ii. 219.
 Nuneaton, i. 276, 477.

 Okington, i. 341.
 Oldenburgh, ii. 232, 236.
 Oldstone, i. 461.—ii. 86, 107.
 Olney, ii. 220.
 Oram, i. 151.—ii. 72.
 Orchard, ii. 252.
 Ore, ii. 172, 288.
 Ormskirk, ii. 33.
 Osan-Overton, Holland, ii. 326.
 Overdelend, ii. 232.
 Ouerkirk, Holland, ii. 224.
 Oxford, i. 348.
 Oxfordshire, ii. 76, 84, 107, 115,
 172, 250, 277, 288.
 Oyster Bay, Long Island, ii. 145,
 150.

 Pagan Creek, ii. 157.
 Pall Mall, i. 481.
 Pardsey Crag, i. 400.—ii. 26.
 Parshow, ii. 252.
 Patchgate, ii. 278.
 Patrington, i. 151.
 Peak Country, i. 82, 231.—ii.
 22.
 Peak Hills, ii. 78.
 Pembroke, i. 383.
 Pembrokeshire, i. 383.
 Pendle Hill, i. 160.
 Penryn, i. 286.—ii. 17.
 Pershore, ii. 79.
 Pickering, i. 147.
 Piscattaway, ii. 149.
 Pit (near the Briel) ii. 327.
 Plymouth, i. 285, 454.—ii. 16,
 69, 87.
 Point Judah, ii. 149.

- Poland, ii. 409.
 Pontefract, i. 418.
 Pontamile, i. 374.
 Pool, i. 282, 371, 453.
 Portshead, ii. 86.
 Portsmouth, i. 282, 371.
 Potomack River, ii. 162.
 Pottuxon, ii. 157, 163.
 Pottuxon River, ii. 157, 162.
 Powbank, ii. 216.
 Prester John's Country, i. 503.
 Preston, i. 391, 477.—ii. 33, 197.
 Preston Patrick Chapel, i. 164.
 Providence, ii. 147.
 Pulner, ii. 14.
 Purgatory, ii. 151.
 Purmerent, ii. 229.

 Rabley Heath, ii. 265.
 Radnorshire, i. 379.—ii. 22, 80.
 Radway, ii. 277.
 Ramside, i. 168.
 Ransenny's Monument, ii. 233.
 Raphahannock River, ii. 162.
 Reading, i. 258, 345, 443.—ii. 76, 115, 172, 250, 288.
 Reconow Creek, ii. 166.
 Redruth, i. 288.—ii. 18.
 Rickmansworth, ii. 173.
 Riegate, i. 282.—ii. 278.
 Ringwood, i. 282, 371, 453.—ii. 14.
 Rhode Island, ii. 145, 149, 162.
 Roan Oak, ii. 150.
 Rochester, i. 256.—ii. 116.
 Rome, i. 495.
 Ross, ii. 82.
 Rotterdam, ii. 224, 247, 324.
 Rumney, i. 256.
 Rye, N. E. i. 256.—ii. 150.

 Saddington, ii. 265.
 Saling, ii. 248.
 Sands, (Lanc.) ii. 197.
 Sandside, i. 392.
 Sardam, ii. 326.
 Saxifrax River, ii. 144, 153.
 Scalehouse, i. 418.
 Scarborough, i. 146.—ii. 23, 72, 97.
 Scarhouse, ii. 217, 218.
 Scotland, i. 401.—ii. 78, 197.
 Sea, from Ireland, ii. 103.—to Barbadoes, 125.—for Jamaica, 140.—for Maryland, 142.—for Long Island, 150.—for Virginia, 157.—for England, 168.
 Selby, i. 138.
 Severn, (Am.) ii. 156.
 Shacklewell, ii. 123, 279.
 Shirehampton, ii. 168.
 Shelter Island, ii. 148.
 Sheppey, Isle of, ii. 116.
 Shrewsbury, i. 374.—ii. 79.
 Shrewsbury, (Am.) ii. 151.
 Shropshire, ii. 22.
 Sibbard, ii. 252.
 Silebie, i. 276.—ii. 76, 219, 265.
 Skegby, i. 231, 464.—ii. 6, 75, 219.
 Skipton, i. 464.—ii. 85.
 Slattenford, i. 344.—ii. 171.
 Slone, i. 372.
 Smyrna, ii. 503.
 Somersetshire, i. 447.—ii. 21, 86.
 Sommerton, ii. 157, 160.
 Sound, ii. 149.
 Southgate, ii. 408.
 Southam, ii. 277.
 Southampton, i. 283.—ii. 14, 88.
 South Mimms, ii. 220, 252.
 South Street, ii. 333, 336, 338, 378.
 Staffordshire, i. 348, 477.—ii. 78, 97, 266.
 Staines, ii. 288.
 Stainsby, ii. 219.
 Stainmore, ii. 25.
 Starling, i. 411.
 Stath, i. 143.
 Stenning, i. 257.
 Stevenage, ii. 265.
 Stickuson, ii. 231.
 Stoke, ii. 18, 252.
 Stoney Stratford, ii. 277.
 Stratford, ii. 117, 252.

- Stratton, ii. 87.
 Street, ii. 21.
 Strickland Head, i. 216, 400.—
 ii. 25.
 Strobis, ii. 230, 237.
 Sudbury, ii. 251.
 Suffolk, i. 259, 449. — ii. 13,
 77.
 Sunbury, ii. 288.
 Sunderhill Green, i. 224, 229,
 462.—ii. 22, 74.
 Surrey, i. 282, 370, 453.—ii. 89,
 96, 116, 172, 222, 278, 305.
 Sussex, i. 257, 370, 453.—ii. 14,
 89, 96, 116, 222, 278, 305.
 Sutton, i. 262.—ii. 12.
 Swanington, i. 232, 280, 462.—
 ii. 7, 11, 219, 266.
 Swan Island, ii. 155.
 Swansea, i. 384.—ii. 85.
 Swarthmore, i. 167, 170, 173,
 178, 180, 216, 223, 392, 465,
 477.—ii. 25, 27, 30, 197, 216,
 267, 275.
 Tamworth, i. 79.
 Taunton, i. 342.—ii. 21.
 Tedbury, ii. 252.
 Tenby, i. 382.
 Tenterden, ii. 13.
 Tewkesbury, i. 278, 461.—ii.
 252.
 Theobalds, i. 243.
 Tickhill, i. 156.
 Tiverton, ii. 20.
 Todcaster, ii. 219.
 Topsham, i. 284.—ii. 16, 88.
 Totness, i. 285.—ii. 16.
 Tottenham, ii. 424, 427.
 Tottenham High Cross, ii. 415.
 Tredington, ii. 185.
 Tredington Parish, ii. 173.
 Tredhaven Creek, ii. 143, 154.
 Tregangeeves, ii. 87.
 Trent, i. 154.—ii. 77.
 Truro, ii. 18, 87.
 Turry, ii. 220.
 Turvill Heath, ii. 249.
 Twickenham, i. 442.
 Twycross, i. 111, 232, 462.—
 ii. 11.
 Vale of Beavor, i. 93, 96.
 Virginia, ii. 157, 160.
 Virginia, Capes of, ii. 160.
 Ulverstone, i. 167, 175, 466.—
 ii. 197, 216.
 Underbarrow, i. 169, 171.—ii.
 25.
 Upper Dinidock, ii. 152.
 Uxbridge, ii. 288.
 Wakefield, i. 139, 158.
 Wales, i. 372, 384.—ii. 22, 79.
 Walney Island, i. 169, 178.
 Waltham Abbey, i. 243.—ii. 84,
 279, 284, 333, 380, 396,
 424.
 Wanstead, ii. 380.
 Wandsworth, ii. 278, 288.
 Wapping, ii. 124.
 Warborough, ii. 288.
 Ware, ii. 424.
 Warrington, ii. 78, 97, 197.
 Warwick, i. 279, 348.—ii. 76,
 96, 277.
 Warwickshire, i. 78, 92, 233,
 277, 280, 348, 477.—ii. 12,
 22, 76, 109, 173, 219, 252,
 266, 277.
 Waterland, ii. 242, 326.
 Watford, ii. 252.
 Wellingborough, i. 276.
 Wellington, ii. 20.
 Wensydale, ii. 217.
 Wentzerdale, i. 161.
 West Chester, ii. 143.
 West Friesland, ii. 325.
 West Jersey, ii. 144.
 Westmoreland, i. 163, 170, 196,
 216, 399.—ii. 25, 78, 199,
 216, 267, 276.
 Weston, ii. 84, 252.
 West Riding, i. 157.
 Weymouth, i. 283, 372.
 Whetstone, i. 238, 276.
 Whispool, ii. 237.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Whitby, i. 146. — ii. 23, 72, 97.</p> <p>Whitehall, i. 240, 243, 348.</p> <p>Whitehaugh, ii. 22.</p> <p>Whittington, ii. 219.</p> <p>Wickham, ii. 250.</p> <p>Wicocomako River, ii. 164.</p> <p>Wighton, i. 217.—ii. 26.</p> <p>Wigton, ii. 266.</p> <p>Willoughby Point, ii. 161.</p> <p>Wiltshire, i. 345.—ii. 6, 15, 21, 76, 83, 107, 171, 250.</p> <p>Winchmore Hill, ii. 284, 378, 399, 424.</p> <p>Winterburn, ii. 251.</p> <p>Witham, ii. 327.</p> <p>Worcester, i. 278, 461.—ii. 79, 174, 183, 252.</p> | <p>Worcestershire, i. 277, 348.—ii. 79, 173.</p> <p>Workum, ii. 230.</p> <p>Worminghurst, ii. 222, 278, 305.</p> <p>Worplesdon, ii. 222, 278.</p> <p>Woulds, i. 146.—ii. 97.</p> <p>Wrexham, i. 389.</p> <p>Wye, River, ii. 166.</p> <p>Wymes-would, ii. 219.</p> <p>Yarmouth, i. 260.</p> <p>Yelland, i. 180, 465.</p> <p>York, i. 141.—ii. 23, 60, 73, 96, 218, 276.</p> <p>Yorkshire, i. 138, 155, 229, 348, 355, 418, 462.—ii. 25, 60, 216, 267, 276.</p> |
|--|---|

TABLE,

*Containing the Names of Friends and others, mentioned in
these volumes, with their respective pages.*

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Abraham, Galenus, ii. 246, 325.
 Aldham, Thomas, i. 155, 157,
 231, 243, 445.
 Andries, Cornelius, ii. 237.
 Anglesey, Earl, ii. 59.
 Archer, Judge, i. 505.
 Ashfield, Col. i. 410.
 Ashley, John, ii. 190.
 Askburnham, Constable, i. 466—
 his wife, ii. 72.
 Atherton, Oliver, ii. 33.
 ——, Godfrey, ii. 33.
 Atkins, Christopher, i. 260.
 Atkins, Judge, ii. 287.
 Atkinson, Thomas, ii. 28.
 D'Aubenny, Lord, ii. 3.
 Audland, John, i. 163, 170, 175,
 224, 232, 344, 399.
 ——, Anne, ii. 25.

 Bailey, Charles, i. 495.
 —— William, i. 282—ii. 140.
 Baker, Daniel, i. 503.
 Ball, Nathaniel, ii. 84, 277.
 —— Richard, ii. 219.
 Barclay, Robert, ii. 197, 223,
 226, 239.
 Barnes, William, ii. 97, 104.
 Barwick, Grace, ii. 73.
 Bateman, Miles, i. 165, 172.
 Bathurst, Charles, ii. 338.
 Batts, Nathaniel, ii. 158.
 Baxe, Richard, ii. 116.
 Beard, Nicholas, i. 258.</p> | <p>Beaton, William, i. 342.—ii. 21.
 Bennet, Col. Just. i. 119, 123,
 301, 338, 341.
 Benson, Justice, i. 162, 170, 182,
 196, 198, 209, 214—
 ——, his wife, i. 209.
 ——, Francis, ii. 26.
 Beaumont, Lord, ii. 7, 11.
 Bewley, T. i. 204, 217.—ii. 26.
 ——, George, ii. 17.
 Bicliff, Anthony, i. 477.
 Billing, Grace, i. 332, 405.
 ——, Edward, i. 406, 412.
 Bindlas, Robert, Esq. i. 187.
 Bingley, William, ii. 323.
 Birdet, —, i. 150.
 Birkenhead, Sir John, ii. 69.
 Birkhead, Serj. i. 442.
 ——, Abraham, ii. 156.
 Bishop, George, i. 258, 458, 499.
 Blackmore, Maj. i. 372.
 Blaykling, John, i. 163, 170.
 —— ii. 25.
 Bolton, John and wife, i. 282.
 Bond, Thomas, i. 260.
 ——, Nicholas, i. 429.
 Bishop, Bonar, ii. 55.
 Booth, George, i. 448.
 Bottomley, Jacob, i. 232.
 Bousfield, Major, i. 162.
 Bradden, Capt. i. 292, 297.
 Bradford, Capt. i. 229.
 Bradshaw, Judge, i. 170.
 Brassey, Nathaniel, ii. 323.</p> |
|---|--|

- Brathwait, John, i. 166.
 Brickley, Anthony, i. 233.
 Briggess, Thomas, i. 183—ii. 13,
 20, 97, 104, 115, 124, 134,
 140.
 Brickland—see Priest.
 Broadstreet, Simon, i. 498.
 Bromby, Thomas, i. 254.
 Brown, Capt. ii. 6.
 —, John, ii. 84.
 Bryerley, James, ii. 220.
 Bushell, Thomas, i. 144.
 Burnyeate, John, ii. 142, 147,
 222.
 Burrough, Edward, i. 165, 175,
 224, 232, 429, 496.—ii. 12.
 Burton, Just. i. 462.
 Cam, John, i. 175, 224, 280,
 348.
 —, Thomas, ii. 216.
 Cannon, Richard, ii. 184.
 Canterbury, Bishop, i. 499.
 Cartwright, John, ii. 124, 134,
 140, 143, 146, 149, 165.
 Cary, Robert, i. 285.
 Caton, William, i. 256—ii. 408.
 Ceely, Peter, Jus. Maj. i. 288,
 295, 298, 301, 469.
 Chamberlain, Col. ii. 128.
 Charles II, King, i. 476, 480,
 491, 496.—ii. 1, 29, 35, 38,
 95, 109, 124, 191, 194.
 Charles I, i. 479—ii. 256.
 Charles, Thomas, ii. 220.
 Chetham, George, Sheriff, i. 480.
 Chevers, Sarah, ii. 3.
 Claessen, Dirick, ii. 245.
 Clause, John, ii. 224, 230, 236,
 239, 259, 325, 408.
 Claypoole, Lady, i. 432.
 —, James, ii. 305.
 Clerk, Justice's, ii. 75.
 Coale, William, ii. 156.
 —, Hezekiah, ii. 251.
 Cob, Francis, Esq. ii. 61, 68.
 Cob, (Ranter) i. 242.
 Cock, —, i. 165.
 Colburn, Capt. ii. 164.
 Cole, —, i. 277.
 Colonel of Bristol, i. 458.
 Conway, Lady, ii. 252.
 Cooper, Edward, ii. 220.
 Corbet, Thomas, ii. 195.
 Costrop, Richard, i. 503.
 Cotton, Arthur, ii. 69.
 Covel, Richard, ii. 167.
 Countess of Derby, ii. 33.
 Cradock, Dr. i. 79.—ii. 65.
 Craven, Robert, i. 243, 347.
 Crips, Nathaniel, i. 344—ii. 76,
 82, 251.
 Craston, Thomas, Just. i. 211.
 Cromwell, Oliver, i. 239, 241,
 335, 345, 401, 432, 481.—ii.
 178.
 —, Richard, i. 481.—ii.
 210.
 Crook, John, i. 254, 279, 420,
 428.—ii. 252.
 Crosland, Jordan, ii. 61, 70.
 Crouch, Edward, ii. 265.
 Crowder, Dr. ii. 180.
 Cubban, Richard, i. 390—ii. 33. ? 44
 Cumings, Thomas, i. 468.
 Curtis, Thomas and Anne, i. 341.
 —, Thomas, i. 465.
 —, Anne, i. 473.
 Dandy, John, i. 342.—ii. 21.
 Darcy, Abigail, ii. 81.
 Davenport, Capt. i. 414.
 Davis, Richard, ii. 194.
 Dennis, Col. i. 451.
 Desborough, Maj. Gen. i. 290,
 335, 338.
 Dewes, Col. ii. 157.
 Dickinson, James, i. 166, 170.
 Dilger, Emanuel, ii. 409.
 Dirick, Nies. Ger. ii. 225, 239,
 245, 247.
 Dickson, Alexander, i. 196.
 Dodgson, Const. ii. 72.
 Doily, Bray, ii. 173.
 Dove, Lieut. i. 417.
 Downer, Anne, i. 301.
 Dowes, Sybrand, ii. 230, 237.
 Drakes, John, ii. 128.
 Draper, Henry, ii. 25.
 Drury, Capt. i. 239, 241.

- Dry, Thomas, ii. 77.
 —, Widow, ii. 117.
 Dewsbury, Wm. & Wife, i. 138, 216, 240.—ii. 220, 252, 277.
 Duncan, Robert, i. 259.—ii. 223.
 Easton, Nicholas, Gov. ii. 146.
 Eccles, Solomon, ii. 124, 140, 162.
 Edmundson, William, i. 280.—ii. 124, 140, 143, 150, 162.
 —, John, ii. 153.
 Edwards, Edward, i. 385.
 Elizabeth, Princess of Herwarden, ii. 226, 229.
 Ellis, John, i. 372.—ii. 18.
 Ellwood, Thomas, ii. 250.
 Elson, John, ii. 196, 277.
 Endicot, John, i. 496.
 Evans, Catharine, ii. 3.
 Fairfax, Widow, ii. 64.
 Farnsworth, Richard, i. 138, 158, 171, 233.
 Fauks, Thomas, ii. 7.
 Faulconbridge, Lord, ii. 63.
 Fell, Judge, i. 167, 170, 174, 180, 183, 184, 198, 391.
 —, (his Son), i. 177.
 —, Margaret, i. 168, 169, 170, 466, 472, 484, 491.—ii. 16, 21, 27, 30, 36, 50, 57, 79, 106, 109.
 —, Daughters, i. 258.
 —, Henry, i. 482.
 —, Leonard, ii. 11, 16, 25, 78, 96, 197, 217.
 —, Mary, ii. 16.
 —, Rachel, ii. 173, 217.
 —, Sarah, ii. 16, 109, 197.
 —, Susan, ii. 197.
 Fisher, Samuel and Wife, i. 256.
 —, Martha, ii. 124.
 Fleetwood, Charles, i. 401.
 Fleming, Daniel, Jus. ii. 26, 30, 37, 71.
 Fletcher, ii. 26.
 Floyd, Charles, ii. 79.
 Forstall, Richard, ii. 127.
 Forster, Thomas, ii. 124.
 Forster, Judge, i. 478.
 —, Lieut. i. 414.
 —, Widow, ii. 314.
 Fox, Christopher & Mary, i. 75—ii. 176, 183.
 —, George, i. 129, 390, 506.
 —, John, ii. 104, 219.
 —, Capt. i. 290, 331.
 Fraterus, of Dantzic, ii. 409.
 Frecheville, Lord, ii. 61.
 Fretwell, Ellen, ii. 75.
 —, Ralph, ii. 134.
 —, Samuel, ii. 219.
 Frith, Susan, ii. 75.
 Frizbey, James, ii. 156.
 Fronenberg, Ab. ii. 326.
 Frouzen, Wilbert, ii. 324.
 Frye, —, ii. 16.
 Fuce, Joseph, i. 262.
 Furly, Benjamin, i. 499.—ii. 224, 226, 247, 323.
 —, John, ii. 223.
 Gadecken, of Dantzic, ii. 409.
 Gamboll, Thomas, ii. 220.
 Gandy, William, i. 375, 477.—ii. 104, 197.
 Garland, Widow, ii. 58.
 Gaul, Ald. of Rot. ii. 324.
 Gearies, John, ii. 162.
 General of Denmark, ii. 247.
 Gerrard, Lord, i. 483.
 Gibbs, Henry, ii. 79.
 Gilpin, —, i. 223.
 Glyn, Judge, i. 292, 304.
 Goldsmith, Ralph, i. 496.
 Goodyear, Thomas, i. 138.
 Governor, of Barbadoes, ii. 133, 139.
 —, Carlisle, i. 216.
 —, Carolina, ii. 158.
 —, Jamaica, ii. 140.
 —, Nevis, ii. 134.
 Gouldney, Thomas, i. 458.
 —, Henry, ii. 429.
 Gray, Richard, ii. 323.
 Green, Widow, i. 159.
 —, Thomas, i. 469.
 Grimes, Col. i. 348, 461.
 Gratton, John, ii. 267.

- Gritton, —, i. 255.
 Gwin, Paul, i. 343.
- Hacker, Col. i. 239, 276, 440,
 491.—ii. 29.
- Hastings, Lord, ii. 11.
- Hales, Chief Just. ii. 195.
- Hayley, Widow, ii. 220, 277.
- Halford, John, ii. 173.
- Halhead, Miles, i. 175.
- Hambledon, Margaret, i. 401.
- Humbley, Loveday, i. 332, 341.
 —ii. 17, 87.
- Hamberly, Richard, i. 374.—
 ii. 84.
- Hammersley, Thomas, i. 232.—
 ii. 78.
- Hancock, Edward, i. 286.
- Harding, John, ii. 380.
- Hardy, —, i. 468.
- Harris, George, ii. 88.
 —, Jailer, ii. 194.
- Hartis, George, i. 195.
- Hartshorn, Richard, ii. 144, 151.
- Harvey, —, i. 240, 440.
- Harwood, Robert, ii. 153.
- Hawkins, George, ii. 18.
- Hellen, Joseph, ii. 17.
- Hendrick's, Peter, ii. 245, 259,
 408.
 —, Elizabeth, ii. 228,
 408.
- Hill, John, ii. 235, 237.
- Hodges, Francis, ii. 17.
- Hodgson, Dr. ii. 29.
 —, Peter, ii. 408.
- Holder, Christopher, ii. 150.
- Holmes, Thomas, i. 224, 373.
- Holstein, Duke of, ii. 233, 328,
 331.
- Hookes, Ellis, ii. 69.
- Hotham, Justice, i. 140, 150,
 153, 170.—ii. 97.
- Howard, Luke, i. 257.
- Howgil, Francis, i. 163, 174, 219,
 224, 232, 465.
- Howsigoe, Thomas, i. 256.
- Hubberthorn, Richard, i. 175,
 187, 224, 260, 263, 451, 477,
 483 —ii. 1.
- Hubbersty, Miles, i. 165, 175.
 —, Stephen, i. 165.
- Hull, John, ii. 124.
- Hunter, —, ii. 60, 72.
- Huntington, Robert, i. 493.
- Hutchinson, Hugh, ii. 25.
 —, James, ii. 102.
- Hooton, Elizabeth, i. 82.—
 ii. 124, 140.
- Hutton, Thomas, i. 179.
- Jackson, Henry, ii. 97.
- Jacobs, Hessel, ii. 230, 238.
- Jay, John, ii. 149, 151.
- Jenkins, Walter, i. 276, 374.—
 ii. 82.
- Jews, ii. 234, 247, 369.
- Indian Emperor, ii. 143, 154,
 166.
 — Empress, ii. 166.
 — King, ii. 144, 157, 159,
 162, 166.
 — Priest, called Pawaw,
 ii. 160.
 — Captain, ii. 159.
- John-ap-John, i. 223, 380, 383.
- Johnson, Richard, ii. 104.
- Jones, Rice, i. 228, 418.
 —, James, Just. ii. 164.
 —, King's Attorney, ii. 181.
- Jose, Nicholas, ii. 18.
- Justices in Wales, i. 372, 382,
 417.
- Keat, Capt. i. 289, 291, 301.
- Keith, George and Wife, ii. 223,
 246, 325.
 —, George, ii. 197.
- Kellet, Priest, i. 92.
- Killams, John, i. 462.
- King of Poland, ii. 254, 259,
 345, 347, 408.
- Kirby, William, Col. ii. 27, 30,
 32, 36, 50, 55, 59, 72, 74,
 97, 118, 197.
- Knipe, John, i. 166.—ii. 28, 72.
- Lago, Mary, i. 75.
- Lambert, —, i. 464.
- Lambol, George, i. 258.

- Lancaster, James, i. 179, 201, 412.—ii. 97, 104, 124, 134, 140, 143, 146, 149.
 ———, Wife, i. 179.
 Lawrence, Capt. i. 259.—ii. 12.
 Lawson, Thomas, i. 168, 179.
 ———, John, i. 172, 183.
 ———, Justice, i. 207.
 Laythers, Thomas, ii. 26.
 Ledger, Ald. i. 417.
 Leek, John, i. 138.
 Lenthal, John, Mar. i. 478, 480.
 Lidcot, Col. his Wife, i. 406.
 Light, John, ii. 69.
 Lindley, Isaac, ii. 97, 218.
 Line, John, Const. ii. 16.
 Lingard, Capt. ii. 22.
 Lodge, Robert, ii. 97, 104, 218.
 Long, Richard, ii. 162.
 Love, John, i. 495.
 Lower, Humphry, i. 299, 341, 372.—ii. 16, 18, 87.
 ———, Thomas, i. 331, 372, 457.—ii. 69, 168, 173, 179, 182, 191, 197.
 ———, Dr. ii. 176.
 ———, Mary, ii. 109, 197.
 Lyne, Col. ii. 134.
 Macham, Priest, i. 79.
 Mallet, Judge, i. 478, 480.
 Man, Edward, ii. 182.
 Marcellinus, Pope, ii. 62.
 Marsh, Esq. i. 478, 479, 483.—ii. 68, 92, 95.
 Mayling, Bartholomew, ii. 172.
 Mayor of Huntington and Wife, i. 347.—ii. 12.
 ——— of Bristol, i. 458.
 ——— of Cambridge, i. 493.—ii. 12.
 Mayor, John, ii. 162.
 Mead, Wm. ii. 115, 220, 287, 300, 327, 374, 380, 403.
 Merrick, James, ii. 82.
 Middleton, Justice, and Man Thomas, i. 465.—ii. 28, 30.
 ———, James, i. 198.
 ———, General, i. 451, 461.
 ———, Thomas, i. 282, 491.
 Moore, John, ii. 97.
 ———, Richard, ii. 80.
 Morris, William, i. 497.
 ———, Paul, ii. 99.
 ———, Lewis, Col. ii. 134.
 Mounce, Thomas, i. 286, 334, 341.—ii. 16, 18.
 Mount, Constab. i. 466.—ii. 73.
 Montague, Lady, i. 229.
 Musgrave, Dep. Gov. ii. 26.
 Myer, Richard, i. 198.
 Myers, Elizabeth, ii. 24.
 Naylor, James, i. 158, 171, 174, 183, 263, 277, 282, 341, 373.
 Needham, Hacker's Son, i. 239.
 Newport, Earl, i. 429.
 Newton, Nathaniel, ii. 219.
 Nicholas, Edward, i. 480.
 Nicholson, Joseph, i. 199.
 Oates, a Baptist, i. 108.
 Oldenburgh, Earl, ii. 232.
 Osburn, W. Col. i. 401, 406, 411.
 Otway, i. 399.
 ———, Sir John, ii. 109.
 Overton, Col. i. 153.
 Owen, Dr. i. 346.
 Packer, Col. i. 242.
 Parker, Alex. i. 238, 243, 255, 347, 412, 414.—ii. 4, 82, 116, 323, 325, 327.
 ———, Henry, Just. ii. 173, 178, 180, 182, 187, 194.
 Parnel, James, i. 209, 234, 259.—ii. 12.
 Patchyn, Thomas, i. 282, 483.
 Pattison, George, ii. 124, 134, 140, 141, 144, 147.
 Pauls, William, ii. 233.
 Pearson, Anthony, Just. i. 151, 199, 207, 217, 416, 445.
 ———, William, ii. 26.
 ———, Thomas, ii. 216.
 Penford, John, ii. 76.
 Penn, William, ii. 115, 168, 222, 226, 238, 239, 246, 248, 293, 294, 325.
 ———, Guliel. Maria, ii. 168, 173.

- Pennington, Isaac, i. 440.—
 ii. 115, 252.
 ———, Mary, ii. 288.
 Pennyman, John, ii. 135.
 Perrot, John, i. 495, 504.—
 ii. 77.
 Peters, Hugh, Chaplain, i. 302.
 ———, Timon, ii. 326.
 Pickering, ———, i. 78.
 Pittaway, Edward, i. 278.—
 ii. 193.
 Pocock, ———, ii. 81.
 Pollexfen, Henry, i. 318.—ii. 16.
 Pool, Capt. i. 411.
 Pope, Blanch, ii. 17.
 Porter, John, ii. 161.
 Porter, Justice, i. 465, 467, 469,
 471, 472, 481.—ii. 16, 71.
 Preston, Thomas, Justice, ii. 27,
 36, 71.
 ———, his wife, i. 468.
 ———, James, ii. 157, 162.
 Priest, Bennet, i. 173, 197.
 ———, Bowles, i. 141.
 ———, Boyes, i. 149.
 ———, Britland, i. 111.
 ———, Burton, i. 196.
 ———, Camelford, i. 166.
 ———, of Coventry, (Dr. Cra-
 dock), i. 79.
 ———, of O. Cromwell, i. 244.
 ———, Crowder, ii. 180.
 ———, of Gilsland, i. 218.
 ———, Grayrigg, i. 196.
 ———, Haines, ii. 173.
 ———, Hewes, i. 494.
 ———, of Hexham, i. 218.
 ———, of Hull, i. 456.
 ———, Jaccus, i. 182.
 ———, Kellet, i. 92.
 ———, Lampit, i. 167 to 189.
 ———, died, ii. 216.
 ———, Larkham, i. 202.
 ———, of Leicester, i. 92.
 ———, Marshal, i. 158, 181.
 ———, Mounce, i. 286.
 ———, of Newcastle, i. 416.
 ———, of Reading, i. 453.
 ———, Roger Williams, ii. 222.
 Priest, of Scotland, i. 144.—
 ii. 73.
 ———, Stephens, i. 78, 110, 233,
 237, 239.
 ———, of Sutton, i. 262.
 ———, Tamworth, i. 79.
 ———, Tewkesbury, i. 278.
 ———, Tombs, i. 381.
 ———, Townesend, i. 450.
 ———, Whitehead, i. 172.
 ———, Wilkinson, i. 201, 219,
 400.
 ———, at Harlingen, ii. 238.
 ———, at Harlem, ii. 245.
 Purfoy, Col. i. 110.
 Pursloe, Capt. i. 138, 150.
 Pyot, Edward, i. 232, 283, 289,
 304, 317, 334, 342, 346, 458,
 461.—ii. 5.
 Rawlinson, Thomas, i. 318, 413.
 ———, Justice, ii. 28, 30,
 71.
 Reckless, John, sheriff, and wife,
 i. 106—ii. 219.
 Reeves, Capt. ii. 88.
 Richardson, Richard, i. 465.
 Ripan, Mayor, i. 182.
 Roberts, Gerard, i. 279, 501.—
 ii. 114, 117, 123, 168, 183.
 Robertson, Thos. ii. 58.
 Roberson, Richard, Just. i. 150,
 162, 170.—ii. 73, 217.
 ———, Andrew, i. 405.
 ii. 217.
 ———, William, i. 498.
 ———, Col. ii. 19.
 ———, George, ii. 217.
 Roeloffs, John, ii. 239, 408.
 Roper, Lieut. i. 157.
 Rouse, Col. Justice, i. 299.—
 ii. 18.
 ———, John, ii. 116, 124, 128,
 140, 168, 175, 341, 364, 377.
 ———, Margaret, ii. 109, 413.
 ———, Thomas, ii. 128, 130, 133,
 139.
 Rush, John, ii. 220.

- Sale, Richard, i. 493.
 Salisbury, Earl's son, ii. 190.
 Salmon, Joseph, i. 110.
 Sanders, Mary, i. 346.
 Sands, A. Capt. i. 167, 170, 194.
 —, Col. ii. 177.
 Savil, Henry, ii. 177.
 Sawrey, Just. i. 168 to 189.
 Scafe, Philip, i. 143.
 Scott, Joseph, ii. 159.
 Sharman, Wm. i. 327.—ii. 3.
 Sharp, Peter, ii. 156.
 Shattock, Samuel, i. 496.
 Shaws, William, ii. 267.
 Sheriff of Lincoln, i. 230—ii. 77.
 Sherman, William, ii. 327.
 Shipton, Richard, ii. 73. 96.
 Schroeder, Christian, ii. 409.
 Sidon, Henry, ii. 219.
 Simcock, John, ii. 197.
 Smith, William, i. 276—ii. 7, 78, 219.
 —, Humphry, i. 278.
 —, Stephen, ii. 116, 172.
 —, Hugh, ii. 158.
 Snead, Richard, ii. 251.
 Speed, Thomas, i. 458.
 Spencer, Just. ii. 30.
 Stacey, Thomas, i. 229.—ii. 219.
 Stangle, John, ii. 252.
 Starling, Samuel, ii. 115.
 Stephens, William, ii. 165.
 Stoddard, Captain, i. 92, 259, 262, 279.—ii. 117.
 Stooks, Just. i. 345.
 Stor, Marmaduke, i. 240.—ii. 72.
 Story, John, ii. 278.
 Stots, widow, ii. 322, 327.
 Street, Justice, ii. 185, 190.
 Stroud, George, ii. 181.
 Stubbs, Thomas, i. 219.
 —, John, i. 223, 256.—ii. 38, 97, 104, 116, 124, 140, 146.
 Studholm, Cuthbert, Just. i. 211.
 Sunneman, Aarent, ii. 324.
 A Swede, ii. 234.
 Sympson, Wm. Just. ii. 178, 190.
 Taylcoat, William, ii. 223.
 Taylor, James, i. 166.—ii. 27.
 —, Thos. i. 174, 229.—ii. 234, 464.—ii. 74, 97.
 —, Thos. (of America) ii. 166.
 —, Christopher, i. 175.—ii. 278.
 —, John, ii. 218.
 Tennant, —, i. 161.
 —, Widow, ii. 217.
 Thomas, Margaret, ii. 5.
 Thompson, Justice, i. 180.
 Thurston, Thomas, ii. 166.
 Tickel, Hugh, ii. 26.
 Toldervey, John, i. 281.
 Trelawny, Elizabeth, i. 285, 330, 372.
 Tripe, Nicholas, and wife, i. 285.
 A Trooper, i. 128.
 Turner, Judge, ii. 34, 48, 55.
 —, Judge's son, ii. 183.
 Twisden, Judge, i. 479.—ii. 34, 48, 55.
 Twitty, Clark of the Peace, ii. 190.
 Van de Wall, John, ii. 223.
 Vane, Henry, i. 443.
 Under Sheriff of Lancaster, ii. 59, 72.
 Waldenfield, Samuel, ii. 323.
 Walters, Thomas, ii. 38.
 Ward, Captain, ii. 58.
 Watkins, Morgan, i. 380.
 Watkinson, George, Just. i. 418.—ii. 74.
 Watts, George, ii. 223, 323.
 Welch, Wm. his wife, i. 406.
 Wells, Wm. ii. 219.
 Wennington, Miles, i. 199.
 West, Col. i. 181, 186, 391.—ii. 30.
 —, Matthew, ii. 71.
 Weston, Baron, ii. 288.
 Whitehead, George, i. 224, 451.—ii. 116, 253, 265.
 —, John, ii. 22, 69, 218.

- A wicked Man**, i. 95.
Widders, Robert, i. 186, 391, 401, 411, 414, 465, 477.—ii. 20, 25, 60, 124, 140, 143, 147, 165, 168, 216, 267.
 ———, his wife, ii. 216.
Widow Woman, Maryland, ii. 160.
Wigon, Major, i. 441.—ii. 40.
Wild, Major, ii. 79.
 ———, Judge, ii. 181, 191, 195.
Willems, Willem, ii. 230, 326.
Williams, Capt. ii. 117.
Wilson, Wm. Capt. ii. 117.
 ———, George, ii. 156.
Wilkinson, Wm. Capt. ii. 68.
Windham, Judge, i. 185.
Windsor, Lord Lieut. ii. 175.
Windsmore, Dr. Just. ii. 165.
Winthrop, Gov. i. 498.
Witty, Dr. ii. 63.
Women, several, i. 89, 107, 131, 139.—ii. 165.
Wright, Widow, ii. 157. 160.
Wrey, Richard, i. 230.
 ———, John and their wives, i. 347.
Yarrow, William, ii. 157.
Yeomans, William, ii. 86.
 ——— Isabella, ii. 106, 223, 239.
York, Duke, i. 482.
Young, Peter, ii. 81.

TABLE

Containing some of the subject matters and things occurring in these Volumes.

-
- | | |
|--|--|
| Abuses done to George Fox, vol. i. 158, 177, 178.—by professors, &c. 198, 199, 217, 234, 235, 279, 371 — Friends abused, 216, 313, 465—vol. ii. 10, 80, at Meetings, i. 313. | See Sessions. |
| Adam, the first and second compared, ii. 370. | Astrologers, see Star-gazers. |
| America, G. F's. &c. Travels there from Maryland to New England ii. 143—164. Truth's prosperity there, 252. G. F's Epistle to those places, 416. | Backsliders warned, ii. 342—344. —see Apostates. |
| Anointing within teacheth the Believers, i. 80, 81,—ii. 227. | Banishment of G. F. in Scotland, i. 408—412. Banishing and imprisoning for religion is not Christ's doctrine, ii. 254, 256, 408. Friends banished in England, ii. 68. At Dunkirk, 409. |
| Anti-Christ's — see False Prophets. | Baptism, i. 283, 353. |
| Apostacy entered since the days of the Apostles, i. 350, 418. | Baptist Meetings, i. 89, 206, 243. |
| Apostates, backsliders, and false brethren, are got into the Temple of God, ii. 338, 412, 364. | Baptists discoursed by G. F. 109, 205, 255. A teacher convinced, 216, 256, 263 . Baptists in Warwick, 279. In Nottinghamshire, 93. Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men prophesied of Christ to come that year to reign, 459. A Baptist woman restored, 281. |
| Apostles were tradesmen, ii. 405, 407. | Baptists deny G. F. their meeting-house, 283. Particular Baptists, 284. |
| Apparel for Pride, judged, ii. 336—338. | Battledore, the author's account thereof, i. 499.—ii. 28. |
| Apparition of the death of O. C. seen by G. F. i. 440. | Believers are born of God, i. 80. |
| Arminians, strangers to the Spirit of the Apostles, i. 253. | Bible given to G. F. to swear upon, which forbids swearing, ii. 53. and teaches the plain language, 65. |
| Assizes of G. F's. Trials at Carlisle, i. 207.—Lancaster, 186. —ii. 34—37. 48—58. Launceston, i. 291. Nottingham, 505. Worcester, ii. 183.— | Blacks, or Negroes, to be trained up in the fear of God, ii. 128, 137—139. 159. |

- Bond for appearance refused, ii. 14. for good behaviour, 182.
- Book—see Bible. Books writ and answered by G. F. ii. 57, 74, 196, 198.
- Bowling and foolish exercises denied, i. 340.
- Bread and Wine—see Papists.
- Brown's Prophecy of G. F. i. 90.
- Brownists, i. 502.—ii. 226.
- Butchers and rude people bind themselves with an oath to kill G. F. i. 229.
- Calvinists, i. 502.—ii. 230.
- Cambridge, Scholars rudeness, i. 262.
- Captain, much given to laughter, convinced, i. 284. A Captain's, in Scotland, impious sayings, i. 463.
- Carlisle in an uproar, i. 205. G. F. in Carlisle, 209. — dungeon, 216.
- Cartmeal, Wapentake-court, ii. 286.
- Certificates to be brought by Friends proceeding to Marriage ii. 83, 122.
- A cheat discovered by G. F. ii. 86.
- Christ the teacher of his people, i. 203.—ii. 446, the Rest, 332, 335. Sun of Righteousness, 362—a quickening Spirit, 366—who can speak to men's conditions, i. 83, 86, 89, 130—and is known by revelation, 83, &c.
- Church, the true and the false, i. 421—the Church of Christ clothed with the Sun, ii. 361, 364. Church of Rome degenerated, i. 501.—ii. 46.—persecuted, i. 432. Church of England's Faith, i. 441.
- Climates, sudden change and variety in America, ii. 160, 163.
- Cloisters, Monasteries, &c. there is no Scripture for them, i. 430.
- Colbeck Steeple-house, Robert Widders going thither, &c. was almost killed by the people, i. 216.
- Colleges cannot make ministers of Christ, i. 417.
- Collegians, ii. 226, 230.
- Committee of Safety, their proclaiming fasts, is like Jezebel's, i. 439.
- Conjuror, so reputed, reproved by G. F. in jail, i. 132.
- Conscience a witness to Truth, i. 304 to 317: is not to be forced, ii. 345—347. Must be void of offence, 356.
- Contentions not to be in Meetings, ii. 266.
- Conventicle Act is not to do as they would be done by, ii. 110—114.
- Convincement in the nation in the beginning, i. 89, 92, 93, &c. 217, 219, 223, 230, 237.—London, 244.—In Oliver Cromwell's house and family, 244, 252.
- Cromwell, Oliver, his discourse with G. F. i. 240, 241, 242. A friend offers himself to O. C. to lie in Doomsdale for G. F. 335.
- The Cross, the power of God, i. 85, 88, 419, 428.
- Covetousness of Wrecks reproved i. 454, 455, 456.—ii. 427.
- Dangers and perils of G. F. i. 104, 111, 159, 161, 172, 177, 180, 185—188, 196, 201, 207—211, 229, 231, 243, 289—291, 297, 303, 347, 374, 385, 399, 428, 458, 461, 464.—ii. 12, 21, 25, 73, 74, 80, 86, 100.
- At Sea, 128, &c. by knives, rapiers, rude multitudes, beatings, bruising, and binding

- themselves with an oath to kill him, &c.
- Declaration of G. F. offered by him to the Court, instead of the oath, ii. 187.
- Devil, he was not made of God, i. 258,—ii. 17.
- Disputes at Leicester, i. 92, with the priest of Grarigg, &c. 196, at Drayton, 233. G. F. with priest Wilkinson, 219.
- A dispute of James Naylor with eight Priests, i. 277. A vain disputer answered, 406. Vain janglings to be shunned, ii. 206.
- Dogs did not move their tongues against them, ii. 160.
- Do unto others as you would, &c. i. 104, 409, 455, 457.—ii. 345, 346, 347, 409, 414.
- Dreams relied upon by a people, i. 81.
- Drunkenness testified against by G. F. at Inns in his travels, i. 285, 347.—ii. 80. Great drunkenness at the choosing of parliament, i. 461.
- Dwarfs not to come nigh the altar of God, ii. 393, 397, 426. Out of Christ all mankind are imperfect and deformed, 372.
- Election and Reprobation, i. 148, 205, 284, 383, 402, 403,—ii. 102, 103.
- Embassador, with Irishmen came to disturb the meeting, i. 494.
- Embassadors at Nimmeguen, G. F.'s Epistle to them, ii. 449.
- Enemies who are the worst to truth, ii. 210.
- Episcopal men cannot affirm, they have the same Spirit the Apostles had, i. 502.
- Errors pleaded in Margaret Fell's indictment, ii. 50. Errors in G. F.'s indictment, pleaded by himself, 51, and the second indictment quashed by errors, 56.
- Examples, see Judgments.
- Exciseman warned, i. 111.
- Excommunicated Friends in Scotland, none were to buy or sell with them, i. 411,—in England, ii. 66.
- Experiences formerly had, or other mens, spoken and preached from, i. 174.—ii. 203, 211.
- Faith gives victory over sin, i. 404.—Faith stands in the power of God, ii. 200—204. Dead Faiths and Doctrines, 400.
- Fanaticks, who and what they are, i. 452, 470.
- Fashions and Vanities of the world testified against, i. 104.—ii. 417, 418.—See Apparel.
- Fast of G. F.'s, i. 185, 198. Of a Woman in Lancashire, 89.—Fast proclaimed by O. Cromwell for rain, 375.—A day of humiliation, 434.—The true and false faith, 376, 379, 439, Fasts and holy-days, so called, ii. 173.—Fasting and prayer, 437, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443.
- Feastings and sporting, whilst others were, G. F. visited the poor, relieving them, i. 79.
- Fees, Marshal's i. 483.—ii. 67. G. F. could not pay, being innocent; and the Jailer's, i. 338.—ii. 11.
- Fell, Jude, sends a Warrant against the abusers of G. F. i. 180—and grants a Supersedeas of a Warrant against him, 182.
- Fell, Margaret, shews to the King Friend's sufferings and innoceny, i. 483.
- Fifth - Monarchy- men's uproar, i. 481, 491. They cleared Friends openly at their execution, 491, 503.—They looked for Christ's personal

- coming, 503 — are fighters, 503.
- Fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, i. 447.—Sion needs no such, 446, 447, 501.—ii. 23.—See Wars.
- Fox, George, his place of birth, parents, and relations, i. 75, 76, 111, 123, 237.—ii. 176, 183—his clothes and wear, i. 146, 284, 285, 286—his marriage, ii. 107.—A great weight fell upon his spirit, 116. His travel and sufferings at Reading, i. 443, 444, 445, 462, 481.—Offers his hair and cheek to the threatner, 494,—and labours diligently in the work of the Lord, ii. 415,—his persecutors would have hanged him, i. 207. — his care for truth for friends, ii. 429, he prays to the Lord, i. 82.—ii. 123, and for the afflicted, i. 111.—ii. 304. See Miracles. His weakness of body, 407, 429—his death and burial, 430, 431, whose name is written in the Lamb's book of Life, which was before the foundation of the world, i. 101. his Epistle left sealed up, &c. ii. 432, 433, 434.
- Fox, Mary, mother of G. F. i. 75.
- Fredrickstadt — Friends cause pleaded by G. F. ii. 225.
- Friends much abused by priest and people, i. 157, 177. their charity to the poor, going for a sign, see sign.
- God's people to be like unto him, ii. 381—the power of God thundered amongst the Magistrates of Derby, &c. i. 112.
- Good behaviour of G. F. could not consent to be bound to, who had committed no ill-behaviour, i. 123.—See Bond.
- Good-morrow, good-evening, &c. vain customs and traditions forbidden, i. 103.
- Goods ill gotten are a curse to men, i. 454.
- Gospel is not the four Evangelists, ii. 227.
- Governments change, God has a mighty hand therein, i. 475.
- Governor of Dover convinced, i. 257.
- of Teignmouth Castle, with others, visits G. F. in prison, ii. 64.
- Grace of God teaches those that turn to it, i. 101, 365, which hath appeared to all men, ii. 64.
- Grammar and Accidence distinguish the singular from the plural, ii. 65.
- Groans which brake forth through G. F. did reach to people and strike them, i. 86, 141.
- Habeas Corpus, &c. for G. F.'s removal, i. 473—ii. 181, 187, 194.
- Hacker, Col. his son Needham's wicked saying of G. F. i. 239. Hacker, Col. cut off, being hanged at Tyburn, 240. His wife and Marshal convinced of truth, 276.
- Hedger, Judge, his wife visits G. F. &c. in Launceston Goal, and was convinced, i. 318.
- Hair worn long of G. F. i. 288, 343.
- Hales, Judge, his answer to G. F.'s adversaries in court, ii. 195.
- Hands not to be laid on any suddenly, i. 423—ii. 411.
- Hat honour, proud flesh looks for, i. 103, 220, 292, 295, 298, 407, 414. A Professor's absurd proof for it from scripture (pretendedly) 302, 307, 319. Professors offended at it, 315, 371. Friends fined

- for it, 460, and imprisoned, 383, 313, 314, 315, 452, 478, 492—ii. 30, 31, 34, 113. The hat kept on in prayer by J. Parrot and his party, 77, 181, 443, 444, 445.
- Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, makes no minister of Christ, i. 417.
- Honour, the true from the false distinguished, i. 103, 319, 421—ii. 31, 74.
- House Creepers, leading silly women captive, &c. i. 312.
- House of Israel, the house of God, ii. 401, 402.
- Humility goes before honour, i. 319—ii. 208, 275, 355, 356.
- Jailer of Derby watches G. F. for evil, i. 113. His vision concerning G. F. 118. Was convinced of truth, G. F. finding him among Friends, 462, and afterwards he writ a sensible letter to G. F. ii. 3.
- Jailers of Carlisle, their cruelty to G. F. i. 206, 207, 208, 209, 210. The under-jailer put into the dungeon to G. F. for using him badly, 216.
- Jailer at Lancaster, i. 291. His wickedness against G. F. &c. 300. A thief, and burnt in the hand, 301, afterwards put into Doomsdale and died in prison, 335.
- Under-Jailer at Lancaster, a wicked man, i. 468, 472. The upper jailer, Hunter, cut off in his young days, ii. 60, 72.
- Jailer at Leicester, cruel to Friends in his prison before G. F. came there, ii. 9.
- Jailer of Durham incensing the governor and soldiers of Scarborough Castle against G. F. was cut off in his wickedness, ii. 72.
- Jeroboam's Calves-houses likened to the houses called churches set up in the darkness of popery, i. 175.
- Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven, its state described, ii. 120, 121.
- Jesuits, two of them, discoursed by G. F. i. 429, 501, are filthy dreamers, 502—persecute to death for religion, 432—are in a rage, ii. 103.
- A Jew discoursed by G. F. ii. 234—others could not discourse, 247, 368.
- Imprisonments for not swearing, i. 273, 277—for tithes and going to steeple-houses, &c. 260, 356, 382, 384, 388, 395.—G. F. imprisoned at Nottingham, 106—in Derby Prison, 113, 129, 136—in Derby dungeon, 129, 132—in Lancaster prison, 290 to 299—Doomsdale, 300, 301, 302—Launceston goal, 302, 340—at Leicester, ii. 8, 11—in Lancaster prison, 30, 59—in Scarborough Castle, 61, 69.—Taken at London meetings, and had before magistrates, 112.—G. F. in Worcester goal, 175—being premunired, 195—and pleading the errors of the indictment at the King's Bench bar, was set at liberty, 196.
- Friends imprisoned to death, ii. 3, 69.
- Independent Woman's prejudice against G. F. i. 261—Independents, 502.
- Indian King and others discoursed by G. F. ii. 154—their gravity and attention, 166.
- Indictments, errors pleaded by G. F. ii. 49 to 56, 188, 190, 191—calls it a bundle of lies, 186—is quashed, 195.

Informers hired in Cumberland, ii. 26—set at work by priests, 118—a Papist informer against G. F. 113—they make spoil, 291—Hilton, 294, 295—Shad, 317.

Inn-keepers in Wales, their treachery to G. F.'s horse, &c. i. 384—another at Topsham burns G. F.'s leathern girdle, 285.

Inquisition, Friends in danger thereof, but preserved, i. 223, and at Dunkirk, 257—Two women friends in the Inquisition at Malta, ii. 3.

Ireland Friend's charity for the relief of Friend's sufferers in England, ii. 344.

Judge and Juries wrong proceedings in G. F.'s case, ii. 188, 189—a judge's base expression, 186—a judge in Holland discoursed by G. F. 247.

Judging. The church of Christ hath power and ability to judge, &c. ii. 260, 261, 262, 263, 348 to 355, 411, 412.

Judgments of God on Derby, i. 136, upon a false accuser of G. F.'s, 155—on a persecutor, 189—upon Adam Sands, 194, —on two persecuting Justices of Carlisle, 223—on conspirators against G. F. 230—on Capt. Drury, 241—on a mocker of Friend's meetings, 454—on Preston's wife, 468, —upon New England, 475—an Independent Scottish Pastor, 404—a soldier speaking evil of the light, 413—upon persecuting officers, &c. ii. 16—upon a persecutor in Cornwall, 18, 20—in Lancashire, 30—on Justice Flemming, 40—on Major Wiggan, 40—on persecutors and bad men, 68, 69—on Justices,

G. F.'s persecutors, 72—upon a persecuting Justice, 75—upon a common swearer in Barbadoes, 128—on Justice Simpson and on Justice Street, 190—on persecuting powers, i. 451, 452.

Justices fair promises at Worcester Assizes broken, ii. 177, 178—ensnaring questions, 217.

Justices sitting about hiring servants, were admonished by G. F. to justice, and the servants to do their duty, i. 94—Courts of Justice warned by G. F. to do justly, 104, 105.

Keat, Capt. his base carriage to G. F. i. 289.

King Charles II. his coming in, i. 444, 461, 464, 469, 472.

Old King's Judges executed, i. 491.—To the King and Council, a declaration, 485, 489.

Kings of France and Spain, and the Pope, to prove all things, &c. in an Epistle of G. F.'s to the Pope, and all Kings and Rulers in Europe, i. 251.

King's Bench Bar. G. F. being removed by Habeas Corpus, had his trial there, i. 478, 479, —ii. 181, 187, 195.

King's Evil—a Friend's daughter being healed of, ii. 197.

Kingdom of Christ has been set up above sixteen hundred years ago, in peace and righteousness, i. 359—the heirs of the kingdom of Christ, ii. 383 to 387.

Landmark, those that remove it were cursed, ii. 404.

Languages—see Tongues.

Law of God is perfect, i. 86 to 91—is written in the heart, 498, 564.

Lawyers must be reformed, and brought into the law of God, i. 96.

Liberty, by the ministry of Christ and his teaching, i. 87.—An intention of granting friends liberty, 481—ii. 95—true liberty what puts down sin and iniquity, 272—Liberty from prison, 355, 377—false liberty, 343.

Life eternal is in Christ, not in the scriptures, ii. 389.

Light is not natural, i. 381 to 387, 101, 225, 239, 287, 294, 346, 363, 392.—Light and grace, 402.—Light curst by the Scotch priests, 403, 304 to 317.—All are enlightened, ii. 40.—The light to be in the Indians, was denied by Dr. Witty, 63—and a doctor in Carolina denied it also, 158, which Light gives the Light of the knowledge, &c. 227, 379, 386, 419.

Little Ease, a prison, or hole, wherein Richard Sale was squeezed, that not long after he died, i. 493.

Love of God, its Infiniteness, i. 85, 90—ii. 208. Love and Charity's effects, 357—Love and Unity is from the Spirit, 412.

Magistrates must yield to truth, i. 211, 212, 216, 383, 385, 386, 391—are to do justice, 447—stop prophaneness, 476, 499—their sword against evil-doers, ii. 29—Magistrates of Dantzic, their persecution, 242 to 259, 345, 346, 347, 408, 409, 410.

Marriages stated, i. 79—ii. 67, 72—settled, 83, 128, 130, 215—A case of marriage tried at Nottingham Assizes, i. 505.

—A marriage in Rhode Island, ii. 147—Friend's care therein, 324.—Marrying, meats, and drinks, i. 88, 353.

Major General of Northamptonshire, an old persecutor, sharply reproved by G. F. i. 347.

Meetings. G. F. meeting with some friendly people in Derbyshire, &c. i. 81, 82—at Broughton, 89—of friends set up, 175—at F. Lepers, 186—Aruside, 199.—At London, 243.—Near Acton, 245.—Near London, Friends abused, 314.—Monthly and Quarterly Men and Women's Meetings set up in London and in the nation, ii. 77 to 82, 89—in the power of God, 204 to 210,—are of God's ordering, 360,—being set up in the wisdom of God, 432.—Women's Meetings set up, 171, 212, 213, 214.—Yearly Meetings, 1657, 1658, in Bedfordshire, i. 420, 428—at Balby (Boulthie, Yorkshire) 462.—York, ii. 412.—At London (1670,) 124.—Meeting for Sufferings at Skipton, i. 464.—Powerful meetings in Ireland, ii. 97, 103.

Ministers went forth, i. 199, 219, from the North Country over England, 224, into Scotland, 244, and beyond the Seas, 255.—Truthspreading in England, 318.—True Ministers trial, 252,—exercising their gift, 420, 430, and sounding abroad their trumpets, ii. 100.

Ministry of Christ, i. 80, 83, 88,—ii. 64, 204—takes no hire, 148.

Miracles wrought by the power of God, i. 276, 277. She that was ready to die, raised up again, 281. The lame made

- whole, 199. The diseased restored, ii. 197. A distracted woman healed, i. 107, 108. (See trouble of Mind.) A great man given over by physicians, restored, 111. ii. 11. G. F. prays for a woman ready to die, and for a distracted woman at Chichester, i. 282. Restores John Jay's neck broke (as the people said) by a fall from an horse in East Jersey, ii. 151. Speaks to a sick man in Maryland, who was raised up by the power of the Lord, 154, and prays the Lord to rebuke J. C.'s infirmity, and the Lord by his power, soon gave him ease, &c. 305.
- Monk, General, his order, requiring all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the Quaker's meetings, &c. i. 461, 480, which are not seditious, 490. yet disturbed, 494. ii. 81, 82, 96.
- Mountebank's vanity, i. 104. Their ignorance, 372.
- Montague, Judge, G. F. discoursing him about tithes, ii. 286.
- Mugletonians, i. 502.
- Muskets in America, (little flies or gnats) ii. 149.
- Music and singing, i. 102. 104.
- Names are given to things according to their nature, i. 95.
- Natures of creatures outward to be read within man, i. 89, 98, 173. That all things come by Nature refuted, 93.
- Naylor, James, is warned by G. F. i. 342—his recovery, 342, 356—his followers, 373.
- Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world, i. 128, 502.
- Negroes and Family meetings recommended, ii. 426. — (See Blacks).
- New England professors proclaiming a fast, i. 439, soon after put four of our friends to death, and became bloody persecutors, 495. G. F. charged their magistrates with murdering them, 498, who felt God's judgments for their wickedness, ii. 253, 294, 416.
- Oath or engagement to Oliver Cromwell, i. 223. Swear not at all, 231, 293. Oath of Abjuration, 272, tendered to G. F. 288. His paper against swearing read in court, 293, 299. Oaths and swearing, 480—ii. 415, refused by G. F. being unlawful, 65.
- Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, i. 506.—ii. 8, 10, 192. Oaths taken falsely against Friends, 16, 30, 38. Oath tendered to G. F. 48, 53, 178. Allegiance, wherein it consists 63, 87, what G. F. could say instead of it, 178, and of Supremacy, 182, 188.
- Offering, the true and the false, ii. 369, 376, 389, 393, 422.
- Old Cause. The setting up thereof was for themselves, i. 452.
- Oldenburgh Magistrates and People, a warning to them, ii. 434, 435, 436, 437.
- Openings of G. F.'s, i. 77, 80, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91, 94, of the things of the creation, 95, of physic, divinity, and law, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.—ii. 401, 416.
- Opposers of the faithful come to nought, ii. 432, 433.
- Order of Bodmin sessions for the prisoners case, i. 301. Order and discipline in the church of Christ maintained, ii. 340, is of the Spirit, 365.
- Oxford and Cambridge-teachers, cannot make ministers of Christ, i. 80, 83. Oxford's rudeness, 262.

- Papists, their superstition of consecrated bread and wine, i. 430. Images, crosses, and relicks, 429. ii. 40, pray by beads, i. 502.—ii. 100, 373, and sprinkle children, 92, their purgatory, 92, and mother-church pretended, 94. A warning to them, i. 251, 252, and their murdering false doctrine confuted, ii. 62, 63, 64.
- Pardon being offered by the king to G. F. he could not take it, ii. 193, 194, and was fairly freed without it, 195.
- Parliament-men discoursing G. F. in prison, ii. 64.
- Parnel, James, convinced (1653) i. 209, was at a dispute of G. F.'s against eight priests, &c. at Drayton, on an hill, (1654) 234. Imprisoned in Colchester castle (1655) 209. is visited by G. F. in prison, and the jailer's wife threatened to have his blood, 259. died by a fall from a ladder going up to his prison, and of whom professors, to cover their cruelty, said he fasted himself to death, 210.
- People flew like chaff before the dreadful power of God, i. 112, 172. People trembled and shook in Carlisle steeple-house, 206. See Shaking.
- Perfection, a Priest discourses G. F. about it, ii. 185.—Perfection in Christ is above Adam's, 132, 135, 353.—Imperfection pleaded for by professors, i. 118, 217.
- Persecution Judged, i. 188, 190, 192, 194.—testified against, and persecutors warned, 306 to 317,—they being blinded, 329, 330, 347, 394, 395,—and not knowing what spirit they are of, 475.—Persecutors to blood, ii. 87, 88.—Persecutors restrained, 73, 74, 78, 79, 99, 100.—Persecution violent at London meetings, 118,—Testimonies against it, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 297, 299, 445, 446, 451, 452.—Four Friends in New England hanged, i. 499.
- Physic and letting blood, a priest's remedy against a troubled mind, i. 79.
- Physicians must be in the wisdom of God, i. 96, 111, 500.
- Pleasure and vain delights denied, i. 322, 339, 340, 342.
- Plots and Fightings, Friends declaration against, i. 483, 485 to 490.—ii. 23, 182, 280, and denied, 29, 32, 68.
- Poland's exiled Protestants, i. 305, 306.—King of Poland, ii. 253.—Two letters to him from G. F. 254 to 259, 345 to 357.
- Powers of the Earth, i. 428.
- Prayer, in sighs and groans, i. 398.—How to pray, ii. 373.
- Preachers congregational, at a meeting with G. F. i. 380.
- Premunire of G. F. ii. 57, 60—of two Friends in Devonshire, 87.—Counsellor Corbet's plea for G. F. in court, 195.
- Presbyterian Meetings stuffed with bread and cheese, &c. ii. 81.
- Press-masters on board G. F.'s vessel, ii. 125, 168.
- Pride in apparel, i. 248, 249, 250.
- Priests sell the Scripture, i. 105, —pray by form, 236, 237,—their spirit, 105,—they are hirelings, 202, 235. Tithe-takers, 351,—robbers of the people, and not ministers of the gospel, ii. 58, 106,—plead

- for sin and imperfection, i. 113, 118, 136,—are confounded, 145, 146, 217,—dreaded the man in leather breeches, 146. A priest trembles, 157,—hides himself from G. F. 169,—are miserable comforters, 127,—reproved by Judge Fell, &c. at sessions, 182,—reproved in the streets, 182, 183.—Eight priests dispute against G. F. 234,—are false prophets and antichrists, 202,—ii. 364. One pleads for adultery, 180.—One beats Friends, i. 145, 146,—ii. 97,—are choaked by a parsonage, i. 111,—and love a fat benefice, 276,—ii. 64,—so much a year, i. 460.—The devils lawyers and counsellors, 397.—Oppressors, ii. 59.—Persecutors, i. 455—ii. 74, 75, 118, 197.
- Prophecy of R. Jones vain, i. 228, 229.—Of Browne's, see Brown.—A woman's prophecy of the kings coming in, 444.—Prophecy of priests and professors against the Quakers vain, 220.—False prophecies and prophets, 222.
- Prison of G. F. its hardness, ii. 48, 54, 57, 60, and that of Scarborough castle, 61.—Prison-keeper struck with terror, i. 118, 119. Prisoners many, 439.—Friends offer their bodies one for another, 439,—died prisoners, 442,—ii. 1, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 68, 87.
- Prisoners set at liberty by the king, i. 480—ii. 355.
- Pirates, ii. 125, 142.
- Quakers, first so called, i. 119.—Quaker's love to all men, ii. 74.—A Quaker's upright verdict, being upon a Jury, commended by the Judge in court, i. 232.—Quakers' principles stated to the king by G. F. ii. 191, 192, 193.
- A great Rain fell after a meeting in Cheshire in a great draught, i. 375.
- Ranters confounded, i. 109, 110, 142, 144, 231, 232, 242, 258, 502.—A ranting woman at Loo, ii. 17.—Their wickedness, and the judgment fallen on them, 89.—G. F. had a meeting with the Ranters in Rhode Island, 147.
- Rebellion and plots denied, ii. 338.
- Regeneration must be known, to enter into the kingdom of God, ii. 383, 384, 385, 386, 387.
- Religion, the reformed by tradition, i. 435.—The true one is the life and power of God, 474—ii. 227.—The Pope's, ii. 435. See Papist.
- Repentance of some that had run out, ii. 77.—Repentance goes before the gospel, 380.
- Reports raised of G. F. falsely, i. 370, 371—at Nailsworth, ii. 104.—Of G. F. and friends at Barbadoes, 134, 135, 139.
- Restitution made of wrong done, i. 106, 107.
- Restoration out of the fall, into the state that never fell, ii. 121.
- Revelation of John is a sealed up book, (said the priests to G. F.) i. 81.—By Revelation God is known, 83.
- Righteous men are preserved from destruction, ii. 367, 368, 369.
- Rude people at meetings and inns, i. 370, 371, in Wales, 382, at Manchester, 390, in Scotland, 405.—Rude fellows by the way-side, 410.—Rude-

- serving men abusive to friends in and out of Meetings, 187, and to women going home, 465.—Fellows encompassing G. F. by the way, 347.—Rude priests, 468.—Rude people, 493, 494—ii. 25, 85.
- Rule of Life, ii. 184.
- Sacrament of Bread and Wine, the denial of it objected and answered, i. 354, 355, 362, 430, 431.
- Sally Man of War, that gave chase to the vessel G. F. went in to America, his report thereof, ii. 125.
- Salutation of G. F. to the Council of Edinburgh, being laid before them, i. 408, 409.
- Schools set up for Friends' children, ii. 123, 172.
- Scots challenging a dispute with Friends were overthrown, i. 404.—A Scotch Officer's impious saying, 405.—Scotch Priests' principles, 401.—Curses, 403, 404.—Blindness, 408, 409.
- Scriptures are the words, not the Word of God, i. 197, 331,—and understood by the Spirit, 101, 102—ii. 313, 314,—being given forth by it, 137.—Scripture knowledge without the life, vain, i. 83, 89—ii. 228, 229.
- Seekers, i. 502.
- Separation and its Spirit, a warning against it, ii. 213, 214, 215,—pleads a liberty, 225,—has the name of Truth, but not the nature, 225, 239, 242, 243, 244, 250, 260, 263, 265, 279, 289, 290, 291, 319, 320, 321, 359, 360.—Unruly spirits at Reading, 250.—In America G. F. had a meeting with them, 146.
- Sessions at Lancaster, i. 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185.—ii. 29, 30.—Leicester, 10, 11.—Worcester, 177, 178, 185, 190.—Bodmin, i. 301.
- Shaking of the house, G. F. praying, i. 92. A meeting of Friends were greatly shaken, 94.—People shook, 206—see Steeple-house.
- Sheriff of Lincoln convinced, i. 230—see Craven. Sheriffs to be chosen by Friends, ii. 292, 293.
- The sick and afflicted restored—see Trouble in Mind, and Miracles.
- Shipwrecks called God's grace, i. 454.
- Sign, Thomas Aldam a sign to Oliver Cromwell, i. 445.—Robert Huntington, 493.—Some in sackcloth and ashes, ii. 58, 71.—Another before the fire of London, 70.—Another going naked, 71.—A woman going before the Parliament, &c. 444—see Prophecies.—Richard Sale carrying, &c. 493.
- Singing in the Spirit with a melodious sound, i. 412.
- Sin, Priests preach up for term of life, i. 113, 493.
- Sin's, Entail and original, cut off, ii. 397.—Professors distinguish the guilt and the power of it, 312, and plead for sin, ii. 185, 186.—Sin's deceitfulness to be watched against, 308, 309.
- Sirrah, and other reproachful nick-names, given by Magistrates to prisoners, reprov'd, ii. 35.
- Slander raised by a priest on a meeting of Friends he was at, i. 196.
- Soldiers, one proffered G. F. to assist him, i. 178, 179.—

- Others were convinced, and their wives, at Meetings, 202, 204, and at Cranbrook, 256.—Another begins to draw his sword at a Friend, 302, 303. Some could not take the oath to Oliver Cromwell, 223,—others took it, and fell into danger, 223.—A soldiers' wicked saying of Christ, 334.—Several Officers convinced in Scotland, 414.—Some soldiers striking Friends at Meeting, 458, 459.—Troopers came to see G. F. in prison, ii. 60.—Soldier's testimony of him, 70.—Lewd soldiers in Germany, 236.—Blind men are not listed for soldiers (neither outward or inward) 421.
- Somerset-house, i. 444.
- Soul, a people holding that women have no souls, i. 81.
- Spirit of discerning in G. F. i. 91, 204.—The Spirit tries doctrines, 106, and leads into all truth, 403.—A measure of it is given to every one, ii. 41.—Its fruits, if obeyed, 191, 192. A Spirit in the ship and in the steeple-house, i. 140—ii. 126, 127.
- Sports and Feastings denied, i. 79.
- Steeple-houses and markets, Truth preached in them, i. 393,—the sound of its bell seemed like the sound of a market bell, 105, 112.—G. F. in the steeple-house at Beverley and Crantzick, 138, 139, 140, 141.—Mansfield Woodhouse, the people fell upon him, &c. Steeple-house shook, 173, 196, 197.—Friends declaring Truth in Steeple-houses, 255, 257, 287, 302, 387, 388,—others admonished the Bowlers, 338.
- Streets, Truth preached in them, i. 373, 384, 388.
- Stone laid in Sion, rejected, ii. 271, that became a great mountain, 391.
- Stillness, the mind feels the principle of God in it, i. 304.
- Students, at Aberdeen, some convinced, ii. 197.
- Sufferings of G. F. and friends for being contrary to the world's ways and customs, i. 104.—G. F. cruelly beaten by a Clerk in the steeple-house, 156,—by a rude multitude, 179,—banished—see banishment.—Suffered in bad prisons, ii. 50.—Sufferings of Friends for travelling about their occasions, i. 318,—for going to steeple-houses, &c. 393, 394, 395, 396,—laid before Oliver Cromwell, 440.—Sufferings of Friends at meetings, 312,—by imprisonments, 313, 314, 506—ii. 57, 90, and after the Monarchy men's rising, i. 483, some banished, &c. Dantzick, Friends' sufferings, ii. 253 to 259, 345 to 347, 408, 409, 410.
- Swear not all, ii. 54.—Friends not swearing, how discerned from others not swearing, 94, 95. See 280 and 317.—Offices served by Friends without swearing, 415. Justices and Juries forsworn at Lancaster assizes in G. F.'s case, 50, 51.—Three Officers of the court forsworn in the same case, 56.
- Syllogisms and sophistic arguments overthrown, i. 406.
- Talents, i. 366, and the slothful servant, ii. 427.
- Talkers, airy, i. 84, 91, 299, 300.
- Teacher—God was the first teacher in Paradise, &c. ii. 296.

- Temples made of hands, God dwells not in, i. 80, 112.
- Temptations to despair upon G.F. i. 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, for the trial of his faith, 85, 86, was under great temptations sometimes, 90, 91.
- Thee and Thou to a single person, i. 414, 444,—492, 499. ii. 65,—see Hat.
- Thieves lying hid by the highway in Scotland, reproved by G. F. i. 411.
- Tithes, Quakers cannot pay, i. 216, Great havock and spoil made for them by priests, 270, 492. Some imprisoned to death for them, ii. 33, 67. Friends to keep up the testimony against them, 221, 223, 286, 358. Tithes pleaded for by the priests, i. 352.
- Tongues and Languages the beast has power over, i. 417, 418.
- Toleration prayed against by a priest, i. 494; how to use it, ii. 377, 379.
- Two thirsts in man, i. 84, 85.
- Trading of Friends increased, people seeing their honest dealing, i. 276.
- Transgression of the Life of God, what it leads to, i. 304, 305.
- Travels of G. F. into
 1657 — Wales, i. 373 to 380.
 — Scotland, i. 401 to 416.
 1669 — Ireland, ii. 97 to 103.
 1671 — Barbadoes, ii. 127 to 139
 — Jamaica, ii. 140 to 142.
 1672 — Maryland, ii. 141 to 144
 — E. & W. Jersey, ii. 145.
 — Long Island in N.E. ii. 145.
 — Rhode Island, ii. 145 to 149.
 — Jerseys, ii. 151.
 — Maryland, ii. 154.
 — Virginia, ii. 161.
 1673 — Maryland, ii. 162.
 — Carolina, ii. 160.
- Returning thence to England he went over to
 1677 Holland, Friezland, Germany, Holstein, &c. ii. 223 to 248.
 1684 Holland and Friezland, ii. 323 to 328.
- Trembling and quaking owned, i. 265 to 268.
- Trials of G. F's &c. See Assize.
- Two triers sent from Wales, both were convinced, i. 223. A pretended trier of spirits confounded, 255. A day of trial is coming upon all, &c. ii. 47, 338, 400.
- Troubles of mind spoken to, i. 304. Of a woman in Maryland, for whom G.F. intreated the Lord ii. 165. Troubles upon a Trooper concerning G. F. i. 128.
- Truth is honorable, i. 284. peaceable, ii. 285. in unity, 356. the pearl, 379.
- Tumult of the people at Breckno. k, i. 373.
- Turks and Turkish patrons give liberty of religion, ii. 410.
- Vengeance is the Lord's, i. 499.
- Victory and overcoming of temptations known, i. 84, 375.
- Vision of G. F's of a bear, &c. i. 157. Of a desperate creature, 399. Of the New England sufferings to death, 495. Concerning the Turk, ii. 57. Of himself to be taken prisoner, 176. A Vision in Ireland, 99. and in his voyage for America, 125. the Christians at Jerusalem had a vision before its destruction, 369.
- Voice coming to G. F. i. 84. (See Openings) the voice of the Lord to a Trooper, i. 128.
- Voyages of G. F. to Ireland, ii. 98. for England, 104, to Barbadoes, 125, &c.

- Waiting upon God, i. 450. Wales, the Governor of Tenby must yield to truth, i. 380, 384, and Magistrates in other places, 385, 386. The moderation of a town in Wales, 387, 388. A Lady and her Preacher send for G. F. 389, 390.
- Wars and fightings denied by G. F. i. 78, 129, 131, 132. They arise from lusts in the Fall, 318, 319. None to go down to Egypt for help, 320. It is not our principle, 487, but do testify against it, ii. 45, 48. and it is not becoming Christianity, 449, 450, 451, being a work of darkness.
- Warrants against G. F. i. 216, 400, 413, 450, 465, 467, &c. —ii. 27, 74, 96, 115, for Tithes, 286. Warrant against all Quakers, i. 321, 345.
- Watches set up in the streets and highways in Cornwall, &c. to stop Friends from travelling, i. 320, 325, 327, 329.
- Weakness of G. F.'s body, ii. 11, 76, by long and close imprisonment, 57, 59, 196, 374, by continual travel, 193, and spent at meetings, &c. 378. his health being much impaired, 399. A great exercise came upon him, 401.
- Wicked man cut off, ii. 68, another plagued, 69.
- Worship, the World's, i. 102, 103. Will worship, 333. The Dragon's and the Beast's, 350. The Worship in the Spirit, 500.
- Yea and Nay, i. 76, 200, i more binding than an oath to many, ii. 53, 55, 192, 193.

*Catalogue of the Epistles, Letters, and Papers of G. Fox
and others, contained in these Volumes.*

VOL. I.

	PAGE		PAGE
The appearance of the Lord's everlasting Truth, &c. Testimonies, &c. . . i. to lxiii.		To the followers of P. Lampit	192
		To Adam Sands	194
1650.		1653.	
G. F. his mittimus, by Bennet and Barton	112	A. P. to the judges of Assize	207
To the priests of Derby . . .	113	G. F.'s challenge to professors	210
To the magistrata of Derby	114	To T. Craston & C. Studholm	211
To Barton and Bennet . . .	115	G. B. to the magistrates at Carlisle	214
To justice Barton	116	1654.	
To the mayor of Derby . . .	ib.	To friends in the ministry	224
To the Court of Derby . . .	117	To all professors of Christ	245
To the Rangers	ib.	To such as follow the world's fashion	248
To Friends and others . . .	120	To the justices trying minis- ters	252
To the convinced people . .	122	To those that scorn trembling and quaking	264
To the faithful, an encourage- ment	123	To the churches in outward forms	269
To the justices of Derby . .	124	To friends to offer themselves for their brother, &c. . .	274
To the priests of Derby . .	125	An encouragement to friends	275
To the justices of Derby . .	126	To friends in the north of Ireland	280
To colonel Barton	ib.	To the seven parishes at Landsend	287
To the judges	130, 131	1653.	
To justices Barton & Bennet	132	Concerning swearing	293
To the convinced and tender people	133	Peter Cely's mittimus . . .	296
To the magistrates of Derby	134	E. Pyot to J. Glyn, chief justices	304
A lamentation over Derby .	135	To magistrates of watches	319
1652.		Answer to Exeter warrant	321
J. Naylor's account of Lan- caster sessions	183		
To justice Sawrey	188		
To William Lampit	189		
To the people of Ulverstone	190		

	PAGE		PAGE
To priests and professors ..	325	About the image of O. Crom-	
To friends in the ministry	332	well	446
E.P. to maj.-genl. Desborow	335		
G. F. to the same	336	1659.	
Concerning pleasures	339	To keep from plots, &c. ..	461
To the bowlers	340	G.F's answer to his mittimus	469
To all the elect	356	Margaret Fell to all magis-	
To friends to keep meetings	356	trates	471
Judging any in meetings ..	357	Concerning true religion ..	474
An answer to a professor ..	360	Against persecution	474
Professors, priests, &c. dark-		Concerning change of govern-	
ness	363	ment	475
The true fast and false	375	To king Charles the Second	476
Of lusts, affections, desires	392	The sheriff of Lancashire's	
To try all things, &c.	304	return	479
Be valiant for the truth ..	396	The king's order for G. F's	
Order of Council in Scotland	407	release	480
To the Council of Edinburgh	408	Judge Mallet's warrant	ib.
		To friends to send up suffer-	
1658.		ings	484
Bedfordshire yearly meeting	420	A declaration against plotters	485
To the lady Claypool	432	The king's mandamus to N.E.	497
Concerning fasting	435		
To the parliament of profes-		1661.	
sors	440	Of the true worship	500
To friends to go on faithfully	443	Keeping on hats in prayer	504
		The word saith, Kiss the book	506

VOL. II.

	1662.	A testimony against plotting	45
To the king—friends' suffer-		A day of trial and exercise ..	47
ings	1	To keep out of G. Perrot's	
T. Sharman's letter to G. F.	3	spirit	48
The grounds of persecution	4		
Concerning E. Burrough's de-		1665.	
cease	12	Concerning tithes	58
	1663.		
Of Oliver Atherton's death	33	1666.	
Lancaster prisoners to J.		G. F's discharge and passport	70
Flemming	37		
		1668.	
		Against the dark spirits	86
	1664.		
G. F. to Daniel Flemming ..	40	1669.	
To judges giving nic-names	42	Isaac Lindley's letter to G.F.	96

	PAGE		PAGE
Sound, sound abroad, you		A testimony against tithes	221
faithful servants of the Lord	100	The spirit of separation	225
Of putting children to trades	107	To princess Elizabeth Hes-	
		werden	226
1670.		The princess, her answer to	
To Margaret Fox	109	G. F.	229
Consider the act against meet-		Fasting, prayer, &c.	437
ings	110	Getting the affections of	
Friends to stand to their test	111	people	239
Encouragement under suffer-		To friends at Dantzic	240
ings	119	To magistrates and people of	
Visitations abused, &c.	121	Oldenburg	434
All friends that do marry	122	To magistrates, priests, &c.	
		at Hambro	446
1671.		To the Ambassadors at Nime-	
G. F.'s prayer to the Lord	123	guen	449
From Barbadoes to friends		The spirit of separation	242
in England	129	To Margaret Fox	248
Another epistle to friends in			
England	131	1678.	
For the governor of Barba-		To the same	253
does	135	To John III. king of Poland	254
To Margaret Fell	139, 140	To friends in Amsterdam	259
		Concerning prescriptions	260
1673.		Let life reign over death	264
To the same	168	The hurt of disorderly spirits	265
G. F.'s mittimus to Worcester		The quarterly and monthly	
prison	174	meetings	266
To Margaret Fox	175	To the churches of Christ	268
To the lord Windsor, G. F.'s		To friends in prison	270
case	175		
G. F.'s habeas corpus	181	1679.	
G. F.'s allegiance and supre-		To friends of the yearly	
macy	187	meeting	270
		Be valiant for the truth	275
1674.		To dwell in humility	275
To the king—the Quaker's			
principle	191	1680.	
H. Parker to the goaler	194	To the parliament against	
		plots	280
1675.		To magistrates to be moderate	281
To friends in Westmoreland	199		
		1681.	
1676.		To the quarterly meetings	285
To friends at the yearly meet-		Spirit of strife and division	289
ing	ib.		
Spirit of opposers and work	212	1682.	
		Informers convicting friends	291
1677.		To the sheriffs to be chosen	292
To Margaret Fox	218		

PAGE	PAGE
To the people that chuse them 293	Caution in time of liberty 377
To distinguish truth & error 296	True and false offering . . . 379
Exercises from magistrates	God's goodness to mankind 379
and apostates 297	Repentance before baptism 380
Feel the power of God in you	God's people to be like him 381
all 301	The right way to Christ . . . 382
Be valiant for truth 302	Except a man be born again 383
	The Jews rebel—their loss 388
1683.	God so loved the world, that
To the yearly meeting in	he 389
London 306	The stone became a mountain 391
To friends, a salutation . . . 308	Regeneration and sanctifica-
My love is to you all 312	tion 392
Fruits of peace and quietness 314	
To all the elect, &c. 319	1688.
	All you believers in the light 397
1684.	An approaching storm . . . 400
To the duke of Holstein . . . 328	Moses and Christ's house . . 401
To friends, an epistle 332	Thrones on earth contended 403
	The world's empty teachers ib.
1685.	Not to remove the land-mark 404
Keep out of the world's spirit 333	Apostles' husbandmen, &c. 405
Excess in apparel 336	
To friends who are called . . 338	1689.
Among all societies, &c. . . 340	Hearing and telling news . . 407
Here you may see when, &c. 342	To Peter Hendricks and
To John III. king of Poland 345	friends at Dantzic 408
Concerning judging 348	To the magistrates at Dantzic 409
	Great shakings in the world 411
1668.	To keep in love and unity . . 412
Ancient prisoners at the yearly	To friends in Barbadoes . . 413
meeting 355	To quarterly and yearly meet-
The king opening prisons . . 358	ings in America 416
In Christ is no separation . . 359	
Men and women's quarterly	1690.
meetings 360	Against fashions, &c. . . . 417
Church clothed with the sun 361	Christ the ensign, &c. . . . 418
The falling away, &c. . . . 364	Stand still and see salvation 422
Noah and his family were	To friends in the ministry 425
called 367	To friends in the ministry in
The first and second Adam 370	America 426
	To suffering friends in Ireland 428
1687.	G. F's death and burial . . 430
Concerning the two seeds . . ib.	His epistle left sealed up,
Concerning prayer 373	&c. 432





